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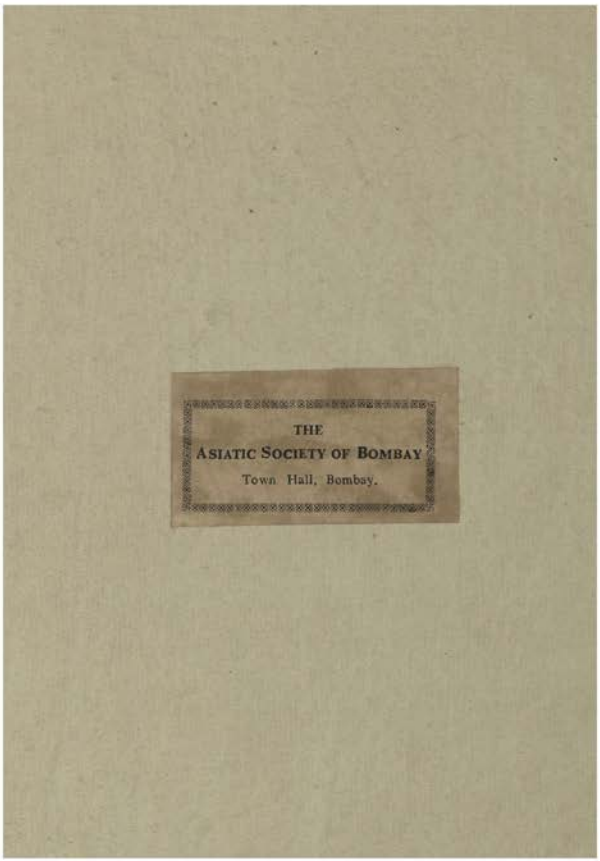


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# GENERAL GORDON'S LAST JOURNAL.

# GENERAL GORDON'S LAST JOURNAL.

A FACSIMILE OF THE LAST OF THE SIX VOLUMES OF JOURNALS DISPATCHED BY GENERAL GORDON BEFORE THE FALL OF KARTOUM.

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# PREFATORY NOTE.

THE MS. Journal, of which the following pages are a facsimile, is the Sixth of the late General Gordon's Journals kept at Kartoum. It was despatched in the steamer "Bordeen" on the 15th December, 1884, and was handed over to Sir Charles Wilson at Metemma on the 22nd June, 1885, by the Officer commanding General Gordon's steamers.

The present copies are prepared from the photographic negatives taken for the War Office, and from which a few copies were privately printed for the use of Her Majesty's late Government, when it was yet uncertain that the Journals would be given to the Public.

The Journals were written on the back of telegraph forms, and the line, which is drawn round the text in the present issue, shows the exact size of the papers used by General Gordon. 500 Copies only are printed of these facsimiles.

Khartoum.
Nov. 10/84.

Sir.

Since departure 10 Light of Lt. Col. Stewart Chief. I have kept a daily journal of all events at Khartoum, which contains also my private opinions on certain facts, which perhaps it is just as well you should know confidentially. You can, of course, make extracts of all official matter, and will naturally leave my private opinions out in the case of publication. I have already sent five portions of this journal, and now send the sixth portion

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obedt. Servant
C.G. Gordon

The Chief of Staff
Soudan Expeditionary Force.

Events at Khartoum
from 5 Nov to 14 Dec
1884

General Gordon Journal

# Vol. VI.

To be forwarded from Jerusalem
C. G. Gordon

5 Nov. Steamer "Bridell" left this morning for Metemma. According to all accounts the summer of steamers of Shendy - Metemma comes to such great annoyance. On the Arab chief of Berber "keeps calling for them to come down & help him. Which they say: if we do, then steamers will pillage our houses." I cannot get out of my head, the Abbas entanglement, that the "Abbas" (with her 270 bullet marks on her, her guns, her gunpots, Arab iron bullet proof) could be captured by force, seems impossible, that she ran on a rock, seems unlikely, for she had her sides defended by bullets sunk left in water. I also had warned them not even anchoring by the bank. also to take wood from isolated spots. in fact as far as human foresight goes I did all my possible. Why did you let them go? the matter was this. I determined to send the Abbas down with an Arab Capt. Hassan asked to be allowed to go. I jumped at his offer. then she said he would go if I would remain here from Saturday one I said, you do not desert me; I cannot go. but if you go, you do great service. I then write him an official, he wanted me to write an order. I said, no, for though I give you responsibility, I will not put you in any danger in Arab I am not myself." I wrote then a letter marked thus, "Abbas is going down: you say you are willing to go in her, if so I think you can do so in town. you can go in town. for if you can do nothing here. if you go, you do me service. in thanking my own" You will notice the number of Arabs. they are a body guard I ordered, & hand highly, to prevent any treachery on part of crew then the question of treachery on Arab, weighed by me a guarded spot, as far as I could. but on part of crew, and a part of inhabitants, for I told them to anchor and stream, & not to take wood except in isolated spots

Nov 5. I counted them [illegible] (very close) Some danger could be apprehended via Berber & Shendy. They appear to have been captured on a comparatively thinly populated place below Abou Hamed. I felt somehow convinced they were captured by treachery, the sheik pretending to be friendly, and surprising them at night. I will own this, without reason, (apparently, for the chances are, that the trip was safe.) I have never been comfortable since they left. Stewart was a man, who did not count the cost. He never thought of danger in perspective. He was not a bit suspicious. (Such I am made up of it.)

I can see, in imagination, the whole scene. The sheikh inviting them, to kind sayings "Thank God. Mahdi is a liar", bringing in coffee. Mahdi going on shore and dispersed. "Abbi" with her clothes down, then a rush of cold steel, and all is over! a shy and something of a chief having pretended to be friendly, a stern "Abbi" was cried, rushing on her, but then he cried, "abbi" turned on them, and killed 72 or 78 (see back page of Journal.) It is very sad, but being ordained, we must not murmur. I look on it as being a Nemesis on the death of the two Pashas.

Nov 5. I do sincerely hope you will have a strict examination into the question of Steward Power & Hudson going down. What makes me think so much of the capture being by treachery is that the two boats sailing & keeping with the Abbas have not arrived at Dubbah. For if the Abbas struck on a rock. they could not the boats come on. I expect they are all engaged on our corp. 11 P.M. last night, shells fired ~~this~~ shells into town, from them Krupps. on Sheik Saad. they did not frighten us. and did us harm. at midnight.

Nov 5. they fired two or three volleys of musketry with no effect. Four soldiers came in from Arabs at Sundaraman, state Mahdi sent a party of Arabs towards Sennaar. Garrison sallied out & killed nearly all of them, also that the Baggara Arabs, under pretence of getting better pasturage for their cattle, asked Mahdi, to let them go from his camp, some distance; he agreed, and they have bolted. they are his best horsemen also that the people no longer regard Mahdi as before. Hussein Pasha Khalifa good friends with Mahdi. Arabs came near Bourré and fired a few shots, & then went back. I suspect that the Arabs sent the Regulars out, and go through this, as a mere form. one of these men was with Slatin. When he surrendered, & says he did so. When he had plenty of food & ammn. and that he (Slatin) is on best terms with the Mahdi so shall not know the truth, till the other Europeans get out of Mahdi's clutches.

Stewart had about 60 £ in gold with him. and every paper connected with our mission, I purposely kept with him, for we did not know, what one day could bring forth, when he left, on the 10 Sept. he had lost over 800 men killed, and 970 Remyt with a lot of ammunition on the 4th Sept. only 6 days before he left. Baker tells me news. (K. does not) he says Clifford Lloyd has left on account of row with Nubar. that China & Tonquin have come to terms.

One shell from Arabs went over the town & fell in the River.

I have mentioned that Stewarts journal contained all events from 1.3.84. to 10.9.84. and if lost, there is only the journal of the Doctor, which begins 7.3.84

Form. N° 3.

Modèle de Réception

PRÉAMBULE

Appareil de

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OBSERVATIONS

Paraphe de l'employé

# Administration des Télégraphes Egyptiens du Soudan

Station de

N°

A m. m. le 188

Reçu le Télégramme suivant :

De daté h. m.

à

Adresse

Aux Généraux Gordon. If he ever comes safely home to us, he has, and his still increased Services, have learned to think of the high sense of National honour, the chivalrous courage, the unflinching good faith of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington. [Three cheers were given for Gordon.] Shall I tell you what was said the other day by a statesman whom I take to be the greatest on the Continent? It was only a few weeks ago that I heard, through an acquaintance of Prince Bismarck's, a remark made by him about Mr. Gladstone. It is the course of his whole life, he said, to be certainly the most successful and powerful, as he is the most upright statesman in Europe. [Cheers and laughter.] Now, I am not going to look for a moment at the political aspect of the question. I am not going to look at it from the point of view of party. I am not going to look at it from the point of view of the Liberal Government. I look at it from the point of view of the honour of the country, and I say that the honour of the country is safe in the hands of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington. [Cheers and laughter.] Now, I am not going to look at it from the point of view of party. I am not going to look at it from the point of view of the Liberal Government. I look at it from the point of view of the honour of the country, and I say that the honour of the country is safe in the hands of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington. [Cheers and laughter.]

Aucune demande à propos de cette dépêche ne sera accueillie que sur la présentation de ce document.

*Le public est prévenu que l'Administration des Télégraphes Egyptiens n'accepte aucune responsabilité pour le retard ou les erreurs dans le service des dépêches télégraphiques.*

Nov 5. I told correspondent of "Times" to know this and to be told that the Porter has promised me that "Times" shall have the first copy of this journal. Stewart was wounded, near Palace, at 6 P.M. on Sunday 25 May. in arm (flesh wound)

If Sennaar has beaten back Arabs a second time, I cannot see how it is possible to abandon the garrison, and if they are to be relieved, I see at least a delay of four months. all this could be avoided, by handing the Sudan over to Sultan with a subsidy. When Stewart left, it was at lowest ebb. the Arabs from Kordofan had armed with them guns, our 3 steamers were aground in Upper Sennaar, and seven shots holes in them.

Hansall the Austrian Consul has a daily journal, Power & Herbin had one also.

I have captured all the European telegrams sent or sent and sent in reference sent to Evelyn Baring. I shall hand them over to you; as they are in cypher, & you may have F. O. cypher Books, you can decode them. Stewart (as I have said) carried off the cypher Book with him. He had two copies of the journal, but I did not like to ask him to leave me one, as I said "you can send me home, & I will keep the copy to refer to."

Appendix Y. I send, with this, the Firman of Trophe and letter respecting troops withdrawing, which I received at Cairo on the 23. January 84. & which have not been promulgated.

If Stewart Power Herbin died, because they would not change their religion, they are as much martyrs as Peter or Paul.

Nov^r. 5. A black boy of 10^yr was caught by Arabs outside of the lines this morning, collecting grass, and he escaped from them this evening & came back to the town. He is a smart boy.

If Abba is taken, Mahdi has the small seal I used in my former time, and he captured at fall of Bara my large seal. so he has both. If it is true, Abba must have been captured between Abu Hamed & Metemma, on or about the 18th Sept. now on 18th Sept. Arabs must have known of Ketchener being at Debbeh, since he wrote me from that place, on 31 Sept. probably steamer was pulled into sunnih in going towards so may Metemma, and on account of the news the Shaikh gave him of advance of Expedition. Abu Hamed is 100 Miles from Metemma, which, with the current, Abba could do in 12 hrs. and there is only one small cataract to pass, which is by all account, an easy one. Stewart had a supreme contempt for the Soudanese people, and of their courage, which I do not share; that our men are not heroes I agree, but we had yet us. the feeling that the Arabs were ten times our number, while we had received no reinforcement. Returns. If he (Stewart) has fallen. it is because he was carried away, by the idea, the Arabs could not dare to do anything. Power had the same defect, viz over rashness, not considering the material, they had to support them. You may be very strong yourself but your strength is of no avail, if you are supported by broken reeds. the rate of progress of a flock is decided by the

Nov 5 the speed of the steamer was such, as up here, one might be said, as if the Arab Mahs was an assembly on the greatest amount in the force. If Abbas went on a work, she had two boats, (which I expressly mentioned to Stewart, one to be taken, in case of such an accident) & they could have got into them, and with the current, got down easily. I sent in 1878. a boat, with large tank in Shak ina 4 Hippotamus (infants) it got down to Cairo in 50 days from here, & Stewart had the Reis or pilot of the boat, in the "Abbas". Humanly speaking when Stewart left here. the condition of Khartoum was desperate. while, on the other hand. when once the "Abbas" passed Berber, Shak in counted her fate, she certainly was, she could reach Dongola, and even, in disregard Shabtin Dongola might not have fallen, & spend the "Abbas" even in that case, could have got down to Wadi Halfa. in Shak case I told Stewart to go on with her to Cairo. Men may not remember the case of Sheykh with him, Shak muddy was killed

Nov 5. Middy's father admiral Hirling under
guise was shot this. Why did Dew take the
middy up. & &. I say in defence of my
letting steward go. that told me. Powr
& Herbin felt our situation here, was
desperate after depart of Pl a fowr. that
I had over & over again said, it was im-
-possible for me to go. physically im-
-possible, because even my servants would
have betrayed me (even if I had felt
inclined to leave) and I would die here
(even going so far as to have two slaves
brought to Palace with Pistols to blow
it up. if place fell) when their mean
ideas were that it was shabby to leave
me, but when I showed them, they
could do no possible good by being
prisoners. & when I said I should send
Abbas with journal, then Jacob Herbin
then steward then Powr send they
could go in her. A long conversation
took place between me & steward, he,
wishing me to go, I declining to do
so; on account of eventualities, that
might arise, it ended in my writing the
letter I alluded to in former pages of
Journal. I avow I am glad that they took
it, because I thought it was quite safe. 2
because I knew that if Europe knew of
state of affairs, the fleet would be shortly
into action.

Nov 5

remember that there was, when the last telegram from the foreign Secretary was to the effect that "Hall S. would stay" "on delivery, for all he came down, if I" "contracted with Such." Stewart's idea was that every one of Hall S. or wish that they expressed, was indisputable, or often disputed the nuisance or must have been to Hall S. in being sent up here, and I think he was, to some degree, actuated by a desire to aid Hall S. when he went down. For then it only left one nuisance (myself) and I had so completely exonerated Hall S by my letters & the entries in his journal, that if they had had the courage, they might, so far as I was concerned, have let the garrison fall. On my part, I do not think I could have done Hall S. a better service than to have, at any rate, tried to send Stewart down, unhampered with Power, & Herbin, for certainly it only left a small remnant here of temptation (one of them is mine) the Imperial Govt could no longer say a word. next, Stewart knows every thing, & could tell Hall S. the pros & cons, from their point of view, and with feelings akin to theirs, that they could accept

Nov 5. Jan Stewart, and more extracts from Jan Mee (in Ital they are justified. For I do not look on things from the point of view) I told Stewart also. "I know you will act conscientiously & honorably, but I know your opinion" "and therefore as you have all my views on" "London in your journal, I beg you will, in" "answering queries of Hell S. make extracts" "from the journal, & state "Jl S. says this"" "or that"; that you are at full liberty to" "give your opinion, even, if it" "differs from mine, but let Hell S. know" "when I answer, & when you endorse." Stewart, the night he left, wrote at my dictation, a series of questions, which I answered on half margin of same paper. and in which I said "if Hell S. have not" "acted up to time, you get down, then it" "is too late, & it is no use doing anything" A curious thing has happened. my friend Ketchum sent up the post, he wrapped the letter in some old Newspaper (he sent me no news) the old Newspapers were thrown out in garden. then a clerk who knows some English, found them & sent them to Apothecary of Hospital, who knows English. Doctor found him reading them. some Date 15 Sept.! & returned them for me. they are like gold as you may imagine since we have had no news since 24 July 1884 !!

# ENGLAND AND EGYPT.

## LORD NORTHBROOK AND THE KHEDIVE.

## REBEL DEFEAT ON THE NILE.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

CAIRO, WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

Lords Northbrook and Wolseley paid official visits to the Khedive this morning, and the visits were returned by his Highness within an hour. It is considered likely that Lord Wolseley will remain here for a week or ten days. General Earle left on Friday for Assouan.

This afternoon I had a conversation with Nubar Pacha and Abdel Kader Pacha. The former expressed the conviction that the result of the Expedition would either be at once to disperse the rebellion or to consolidate the league of the tribes round the Mahdi's standard. He thinks that it will thus be a question either of one month or of several years.

Abdel Kader, who is now Minister of the Interior, and was formerly Commander of the Forces in the Soudan, says that if the Expedition advances up the Nile he expects that there will be at least four stubborn fights—at Abu Hamed, Berber, Shendy, and Khartoum respectively. He says that the tribes at these places are of precisely the same stuff as Osman Digna's men, and will fight blindly and with the courage of wild beasts.

Lord Wolseley has expressed his intention of having a Highland brigade with him on the Expedition. It is likely that drafts from all the Highland Regiments at present in Egypt will go to compose it.

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)

WADY HALFA, SEPT. 8.

The remainder of the 1st Sussex Regiment embarked this morning at Sarass for Dongola, taking all the necessary stores with them.

There are nineteen boats in all, each boat carrying forty men and the requisite quantity of stores.

The men were quite comfortable in the boats, which were covered with awnings and had plenty of room. Two of the boats were devoted exclusively to hospital purposes.

The last battalion of the South Staffordshire Regiment and one company of Egyptian troops have arrived here.

WADY HALFA, SEPT. 9.

The Mudir, of Dongola telegraphs from Debbeh that a large force of rebels, consisting of the force from Bordofan, under the Mahdi's Ameer, H. Hahofand and another from Merawi, under the Ameer Ahmed Hedia, has been totally defeated near Ambigol with great slaughter.

The Mudir says that Ahmed Hedia was killed; but Major Kitchener says he is reported to have escaped. The Mudirhopes to return to Dongola within the next few days.

The military here resumed operations for hauling the steamers over the Cataract, and there is some hope of their succeeding even if the Nile does not again rise.

SUAKIM, SEPT. 10.

There has been no firing on the part of the rebels during the last three nights.

CAIRO, SEPT. 10.

An official telegram received here from Wady Halfa states that, owing to the unprecedented lowness of the Nile, no confidence is felt in the practicability of the sailing boats over the Cataracts by the end of September. It is added, however, that the waters of the district are beginning to rise in the river.

Lord Northbrook had an audience of the Khedive this morning, in which he presented to his Highness a letter from Earl Granville containing Lord Northbrook's credentials as High Commissioner, and requesting the assistance of the Egyptian Government in the solution of the important questions now pending, and principally with regard to the financial difficulties of the country. During the audience their Majesties displayed great cordiality towards Lord Northbrook. His Highness has expressed himself highly satisfied with Lord Northbrook's declarations. The Khedive returned Lord Northbrook's visit shortly Afterwards.

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"The Abyssinian Envoys had a farewell audience at the Foreign Office this morning. They were received by Lord Granville, after expressing the hope that they were satisfied with their visit to England, informed them that it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to present them with handsome rifles, suitable to their position, as souvenirs of their visit. The chief Envoy replied, and they had been presented with their credentials, in which they had been received, and promised to report to King John upon what they had seen in this country, and also to inform his Majesty of the great kindness everywhere shown to them, especially by Earl Granville at Walmer Castle. The Envoys start to-day on their return to Abyssinia.

ADEN, AUGUST 30.

Two hundred Abyssinians, led by Ras Aloula, have been repulsed and routed by the Egyptian troops in an attack upon Kheren. Only six of the attacking party succeeded in escaping.

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LONDON, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

Our Cairo Correspondent telegraphs that great difficulties are experienced in getting the number of camels required for the Nile Expedition in Upper Egypt, only a small proportion of the twelve hundred wanted having been obtained. It is stated that more letters have been received from General GORDON reporting all well at Khartoum.

Lords NORTHBROOK and WOLSELEY left England yesterday for Egypt. They had audiences of her MAJESTY at Osborne on Saturday, and before embarking at Dover last night Lord NORTHBROOK had a conference with Lord GRANVILLE at Walmer Castle, and Lord WOLSELEY conferred with the Duke of CAMBRIDGE in London.

The Earl of Northbrook and General Lord Wolseley, G.C.B., arrived at Osborne yesterday and had audiences of the Queen on their departure for Egypt.

The Earl of Northbrook and General Lord Wolseley were entertained at dinner by a party of their friends at the Marlborough Club, Pall-mall, on Friday evening.

Nov 5. These papers gave us far more information than any of your letters did K. and then by accident or on purpose? [illegible] Abyssinian ambassadors in London. Welcome Castle &. My Uncle Evelyn beating back Ras Alula at Keren, and rescuing the Hewett party, & killing 194 of the abyssinians, at Keren. vide Standard 1. & 15 Sept. Lord Wolseley seen off at Victoria Station, for the "Soudan relief expedition." Ha! for the Relief of London garrisons. Khedive expressing delight at going Lord K.(

) Abdel Kader saying you could [illegible]

During the audience, the Khedive displayed great incivility towards Lord K.

[illegible] appears that three Newspapers were shocked at Lord K. of Palermo. but that a man near the Papers was thrown out, & [illegible] and to the Consul, "for" "no three papers to work up tobacco." Consul gave them, & the Doctors assistant going to the shop, saw them, & seeing the date, took them, & then the Doctor got them.

I think that the defeat of Ras Alula at Keren, if true, is splendid. Now the abyssn ambassadors were being entertained at Welcome Castle. The Hewett party instead of ordering us, appears only to have added to our enemies.

Nov 5. It does seem undoubted that of Khalifa's 342 made a treaty with King John to give over Borgos i.e. Kerem. i.e. Senhit (with other places) their orders were sent to their Sirdars, to evacuate. but if the papers, or sundry, are true, (that Rec about has taken back) it is evident no such orders were given. What an extraordinary state of affairs! Metzger in his letter to Greek Consul here, of date 25 Augt. says, that preparations will be taken of Kerem (i.e. Senhit or Borgos) at once. & then we have the telegram from Mgr. that Rec about has attacked Kerem. & lost heavily, (vide the standard of 1 Sept.) [illegible]. By these papers miraculously saved, I am to have under Ministry of Sudanese about Kader Pasha,

re is Abd el Kader and the "forty thieves in one".

Nov 6. Three hundred & 4 fortunes Arabs came opposite Berre today on right bank Nile & fired 4 guns shots & went off on our firing two shots from Krupp. Also Arabs came down to the Shabluka end of lines, & fired on the Soudanese. A soldier of ours came in from Shabluka & stayed with his wife & child, he says Shabluka Abdigid died 4 days ago. (to the great relief of Sandbrook.) now we have only the city to deal with. Two more soldiers came in from Arabs at Omdurman. Arabs fired 7 Rounds from guns on the lines near White Nile.

A post was captured by Shabluka el Abdigid (with European letters, coming from Kassala) just before his death, the porter of these letters was killed.

Nov. 6. I expect that the naming of the Expedition the Soudan relief Expn is because the fiction "that Hell. G. had no responsibility towards the" "Soudan & its garrisons" is going to be held to. and that the object of the expedition then named, will be considered, as accomplished, if Khartoum is reached, but, in that case, how can the sending up Stewart and me, be explained it was certainly because we just thought they were responsible that we were sent. also if Kelly has no responsibility, why did the troops attack Osman Digma, and relieve Tokar.

The sheikh el obeyd's death will be a heavy blow to Arabi. for his following will no longer hold together

Another soldier, with his wife, have come in at Ondurman.

These men report, Sheikh el obeyd dead, and is succeeded by his son Mohamet, not more than 1000 or 1500 with him; Mahdi a mile off, not in Khartoum lines. A good many Bagara still with Mahdi. who is daily losing followers.

A soldier was recently wounded this morning at Bowiye.

They say Sheikh el Obeyd died of chagrin, he could not go & see Mahdi, who sent him word to give up all his property.

What a fuss, King John will be in, if it is true Kuren has found & killed his man, he will swear it is Theodore's machine. I wonder who are the Imaty Powers. Theodore & King John. or are we not & King John. Kuren is only 3 days from Magdala, and it is not likely, they could invent the telegram. It makes one laugh, to think of the addition to our enemies kindly given us.

# THE STANDA

## ENGLAND AND EGYPT.

## THE NILE EXPEDITION.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

CAIRO, SUNDAY NIGHT.

General Earle arrived here to-day from Alexandria.

Great difficulties are experienced by the authorities of the Commissariat Department in procuring the necessary number of camels in Upper Egypt, and only a small proportion of the eight hundred which I have been yet purchased.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

CAIRO, AUGUST 30.

The Sussex Regiment is being pushed forward to Wady Halfa, to replace the Royal Sussex Regiment, which proceeds to Dongola. The Yorkshire Regiment arrived here this morning.

Unloaded boats are passing up and down the Semneh Cataract greatly facilitating the transport operations between Semneh and Sarass.

Major Kitchener telegraphs that more letters have been received from General Gordon stating that all was well at Khartoum.

CAIRO, AUGUST 31.

A telegram received here from Dongola states that Captain Boardman reports that the iron barges are too heavy to pass the First Cataract.

A telegram from Wady Halfa, dated yesterday afternoon announces that the steamer Nil has arrived, with two more companies of the Royal Sussex Regiment, making about six hundred men at that place. One company will start for Sarass to-morrow.

SUAKIM, AUGUST 29.

The Jaffariyeh overtook, not far to the south of Suakim, the three dhows recently captured by the rebels. The latter, on being overtaken, ran the boats aground, and escaped inland. The crew of the Jaffariyeh subsequently burned the dhows.

SUAKIM, AUGUST 30.

A party of pilgrims have arrived here from Khartoum, and state that the town was, when they left, still in the hands of the Turks, who fired on the rebels from their steamers. The pilgrims add that "the Turks" and the Dervishes were at peace at Berber, and that the friendly Amarra tribe were holding the Berber road near Desibil.

## REBELLION IN ARABIA.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

ALEXANDRIA, SUNDAY NIGHT.

Fighting is still going on the Hedjaz, between Ottoman troops and the Arab tribes which have revolted against the authority of the Sultan's Government. Matters must be considered somewhat serious by the Porte, for the Government have decided to despatch to the seat of disturbance further reinforcements of Imperial troops to the extent of some two thousand five hundred men, but the negotiations with a foreign steam navigation company, for chartering vessels for the transport of these troops, have partially fallen through for want of ready money.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

PARIS, SUNDAY NIGHT.

The first announcement of Lord Wolseley's mission to Egypt has created the greatest sensation here. French Chauvinism will have with it a serious difference, if not a rival contempt. Within the last day or two however, another note has been struck. Will not Sir. Gladstone's Government really mean by the employment of such distinguished representatives to herald the adoption of an energetic and resolute policy no one probably knows, but judging from the apprehensions expressed during the last day or two by the leading Government journals, it is certain that in France, at any rate, the opinion prevails that such will be the case. The despatch to the scene of civil government of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and of the most famous British Commander of his time must, it is argued, mean business, and on considering Mr. Gladstone's grave and calculating nature, cannot be accepted as a mere coup de théâtre. Hence alarm is being manifested as to what may be done by England in Egypt. And France is busy chastising the Chinese, and the leaders of French opinion are beginning to reiterate the warnings and misgivings first heard on the morrow of Tel-el-Kebir. Yesterday the *République Française* in a style all its own, denounced the despatches of the two Ministers of England for Egypt as a challenge to Europe, and to-day the *Temps* writes in more sober language to the same purport. It tells England that Europe will wait patiently until Lord Wolseley has succeeded or failed in the Soudan, and until Lord Northbrook has indited a new programme of government. Then, however, the core of the question will be reached; the financial difficulties will demand a prompt solution, and England will be certainly driven to place Egyptian creditors under the obligation to choose between making voluntary concessions and a declaration of bankruptcy, by which they will be more gravely affected. At this point, declares the *Temps*, the abstention of Europe will cease, and England will find out that she cannot by suffered to settle Egyptian finance without anew appealing to Europe for counsel.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

VIENNA, SUNDAY NIGHT.

The Vienna *Allgemeine* has received a report from Alexandria to the effect that General Gordon had bombarded Shendi, and in the name of the Khedive had installed a new Governor there.

According to the *Politische* it is doubted by diplomatists in Cairo whether any favourable result is to be expected from Lord Northbrook's Mission, in which they only see the embarrassment of the English Cabinet. They regard it as a sort of *entr'acte* which is to be played until Mr. Gladstone knows his own mind. Even the choice of the High Commissioner does not escape severe criticism. That Lord Northbrook will not take a different view of matters from Sir Evelyn Baring appears a foregone conclusion. With regard to the Soudan Expedition, military men here hold very widely-conflicting opinions, and the *Deutsche Zeitung* learns from an authentic source that the Sultan has refused some phrase to co-operate in it.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

NEW YORK, SUNDAY NIGHT.

The Caughnawaga Indians, who were about to be engaged to proceed as boatmen to the Nile, have begun to raise difficulties. They refuse to enlist for a longer period than six months, and some of them are asking for guarantees that they will ultimately be returned to their homes safe and sound!

## DEPARTURE OF LORDS NORTHBROOK AND WOLSELEY.

The Earl of Northbrook and Lord Wolseley left England last night by the mail steamer from Dover for Calais *en route* to Egypt, viâ Vienna and Trieste. On Saturday the noble Lords took leave of her Majesty at Osborne prior to their departure. They went from Waterloo Station by the 11.35 train from Waterloo for Portsmouth, and returned to town in the evening. Lord Northbrook, who was accompanied by Captain Beaumont, R.N., started for Dover yesterday morning by the ten o'clock express, on his way to Walmer Castle. As it had been expected that his Lordship would go to Deal on Saturday there was no one to see him off, and he departed quite unrecognised by those waiting on the platform. On reaching Walmer Castle his Lordship was met by Lord Granville, and after Luncheon the two Statesmen, together with Lord Lyons, retired to the room in the southern face of the Castle where his Lordship is in the habit of transacting his official business. They remained in consultation for nearly a couple of hours. In the evening Lord Northbrook drove to Dover to join Lord Wolseley. He was accompanied by Sir Julian Pauncefort.

Last evening there was a considerable gathering at Victoria Station to wish good-bye to the Commander of the Gordon Relief Expedition. Lord Wolseley had arranged to leave by the eight o'clock train, but fully half an hour earlier a small knot of officers had assembled on the platform, and were momentarily reinforced by others until there was a small crowd. Amongst those present were Lieut. General Sir Arthur Herbert, Quartermaster General of the Army; General Oliphant, Majors General Harman, D.A.G.; Brigadier General Reilly, Director of Artillery and Stores; General Elliott; Colonel Cameron, V.C., Colonel Lonsdale Hale, R.E., Commissary General Sir E. Morris, Colonel Hildyard, D.A.G., Colonel Napier Sturt, Colonel Traill, R.A., Colonel Henry Brackenbury, R.A., Colonel Butler, Colonel Herbert (Grenadier Guards), Major Swaine (17th Lancers), Mr. Le Harpe (private secretary to the Marquess of Hartington), together with Lieutenant Childers, R.E., and Lieutenant Adye, R.A., two of Lord Wolseley's aides de camp, who follow him on Tuesday next, together with other members of his Staff. There were also some ladies on the platform, amongst them being Mrs. Childers. At about four minutes to eight Lord Wolseley drove up to the station alone, and was received by Major Ardagh, 3rd Dragoon Guards, his aide de camp, who goes with him. Mr. Mortimer Harris, the manager of the line, and Mr. Owen Matthews, station superintendent, were present, and conducted the gallant General through the Royal waiting-room to the train, which had a saloon carriage reserved attached to it. His Lordship was greeted with a cheer as he passed across the platform. At the carriage door Lord Wolseley shook hands with most of the officers present, making remarks to those who were to follow him about seeing them shortly in Cairo. Punctually at eight o'clock he stepped into the carriage, followed by Major Wardrop, and the next instant the train steamed out of the station, three hearty cheers being given as it left the platform, to which the General responded by lifting his hat. During yesterday, Lord Wolseley had an interview with the Duke of Cambridge, and took leave of the Commander in Chief.

Lord Northbrook arrived at Dover a few minutes prior to Lord Wolseley, and proceeded at once, without being recognised by the officers present, to his cabin. Major General Newdigate, Colonel Goodenough, and several other officers went on board, and remained in conversation with Lord Wolseley and Lord Northbrook until the departure of the boat.

A large number of people assembled on the pier to witness the departure. The Wave, mail packet (Captain Bennett), left at a quarter-past ten; but although received very cordially on the pier, not a cheer was heard as the boat drew out into the darkness of the Channel. The weather was rough and hazy in the Channel, with a stiff south-westerly breeze. In conversation with an officer on board, Lord Wolseley expressed his conviction that before many months had elapsed he would relieve General Gordon.

Lords Northbrook and Wolseley travel direct from Calais to Vienna, which they will reach at ten o'clock to-morrow morning. Leaving the latter place the same evening, they arrive at Trieste after a further journey of fifteen hours, and then embark on board the Iris for Alexandria.

COURT CIRCULAR.

Nov 6. The soldier (who came in with his rifle and three children) says that Shaykh el Obeyd rescued captured a post with Arab & European letters. that he sat for some time in a abstracted state, and then died. that his people are all dispersing, that is a great confusion, for we all know Dr. no fighting there. a soldier of his master have come on, they say Mahdi moved his camp today four hours further off. This evening Arabs fired six times with their guns, on other times near Shat Nile.

I know Harrison could come

Extract from other side shows

Things now how will you do if all the Soudan falls into hands of Mahdi, also troublesome neighbouring rebellion in Abyssinia, will show all these lands are in a fermenting state and will be well content if Mahdi if he can get to Khartoum. Another man has come in, says Mahdi has drawn closer to Omdurman & not gone further off. I have an idea the Arab will make a try to take the place. A soldier was wounded on Tuesday near Shat Nile this evening. he was fishing and got hit.

It certainly does seem most unaccountable that Suakim should be besieged and Tokar captured close to it, but before has not been taught those Arabs.

Nov. We captured 2 Cows today at Omdurman. Mahdi's camp is now abreast of Tuti Island, Mustafa which is 1½ hrs from the Fort Omdurman.

Instructions were received at Aldershot on Saturday directing that Colonel R. Harrison, C.B., C.M.G., Royal Engineers, Assistant Quartermaster of the Division, was to proceed to Egypt forthwith, for the purpose of serving on the Staff under Lord Wolseley

Nov 7. A large body of Arabs left with caravan the Dem of Zaki Mustafa, in a N.W direction, towards Gabra Wells, the Katchnek Head 2½. The Dem of the Mahdi is not far from the river, by Shirk I conjecture he has his troops in position near there. Church Parade going on, average size. I am anxious for the flank of Sirdar ending in Shik-Kilo. a have sent up steamer, to stay there

4 Soldiers, one slave, two women came from Arabs to Omdurman, Mahdi means to attack Omdurman. he has received 120 Camel of munitions. Slatin, in chains, there men say, Mahdi & Arabs have not the least intention of risking their skins agst the Turk, he will shove on the Black Regulars. they have captured; it is like fighting one's own flesh & blood. it is not fair warfare.
If I am inclined to be vicious, I have some little qrarm, with women yelling for Ohrwa, under the Palace windows! Church parade today and the approach nearer to us of Mahdi's camp, and his sending for & getting 120 Camel loads of Ammunition does not show he is wanting in confidence for if he did for. he could never have sent for 500000 lbs of Ammn. or if he had sent for it. he could have stopped its coming, but he feared the advance, the fact is that the Fokar affair, with the non following up of the victory has given him great confidence, Rabih is strengthened by his Arabs capturing Ohrwa. & joins on lines of Berber with impunity, perhaps the same going on the lines of Berber for 3 Days (30 days) means that the Dervishes dash have gone, to assist Berber! I wonder whether it has not been observed, that Berber is perfect cradle of Soudan is in hands of Mahdi. I declare I think the the Mahdi has a fair chance of getting to Merce. of the Rebellion in Hedjaz goes on, & he gets Khartoum.

Nov 7. The Mahdi may, and I dare say, has, good information, from Cairo, as to the intentions of the Expedition, or he may reason "they will relieve Khartoum" leave me alone in my camp, and go back." If the Govt instructions are definite, and going to be carried out, at any cost, and if they are to the effect that a Rapid Retreat is to take place, then, nothing more is to be said, all I ask for them, is to be put out of my place here, to go on my way, and be no more employed. That is not an unreasonable demand, for it (my mission) has ever a special one, and not obligatory, like a Military duty, and in my position of Envoy I am quite justified in having said and done everything for the people over there. I was placed by Zogbi (following the fiction that he was independent) that I simply would secure their safety. If it is determined to abandon Senaar, & Kassala (following the fiction that the Khy of Abyssinia will look after them Xalus the Equator) to their fate, after their gallant defence, there is nothing more to be said, and the sooner this action is performed the better, if it is to be performed at all. To execute the operation, if it is confined to evacuation of Khartoum, I can be of no possible use, and I do not care, to wait and see the Mahdi walk in on your back into Khartoum, Think we have held out him for so many months. months do I wish to see H. M. Troops, dogged by those devils, all the way to Wadi Halfa, or to recover the remembrances of there, has been struck to me. I am sure I have now written so fully on all these subjects that there can be little room for further discussion. You have to make up your mind

Nov. 7. and act. I have fully explained my views & desires, and shall take, or try to take, my philosophically your decision. though I do most emphatically protest, upon this abandonment, which will lead to greater disasters and is unworthy of our country.

The men who came in today, say Mahdi will attack Omdurman tomorrow.

The following decisions have to be taken, if the "Rapid" "Retreat" is carried out

1. Are the fort stores to be destroyed?
2. Are you prepared to supply transport for all who wish to go down?
3. Will you disarm the shaggyeh, or leave them?
4. What will you do with the steamers?

(I declare I should tremble to give these orders, as Gov. Gen., I never would do it.)

5. Will you write to Lennox & Kitchener and inform them of what you mean to do? and exonerate me?

(A slave came in, from Arabs. he says Arabs will not attack Lines, that the regulars are all with Mahdi, on left bank)

6. Will you negotiate with Mahdi (as me, I expect) as to the deliverance of the Prisoners Europeans he has, with him?
7. Would you object to aiding the Black troops to go to Lennox, or to fight out the question with the view of saving Lennox & Kitchener personally?

Nov^r 7. Two soldiers & one slave, came in from Arabs, at Wadi Haiman, they say, Mahdi will not attack directly, that Slatin is in chains, for writing to Khartoum, also Sebehr Pacha. Arabs fired two rounds from their guns towards Times men. But Nile then running, they fell short.

Supposing Khartoum evacuated, then Omdurman, Kerreri fall. The Arabs can fire on Times steamer & capture Shaws in Red Sea & then is a revolt in Hedjaz. Result is to promote Mahdi's adherents joining Mecca. Then there are not 2000 men, more at Berber. In any book not for squalls. in Turkey &c &c.

If decision is taken on the Report Retreat proceeding. Council should be warned on your arrival.

If the British Govt had only given us Sebehr Pacha in March, when I asked for him, we would not have lost Berber, and would never have wanted an Expedition. We would have beaten the Mahdi, without any extraneous help. it is said, Shaw Mahdi is unwatched, that we should, by evacuation of Khartoum, (rallying point to the) raise him again. The defect I labored under, has been that I presented my (not knowing of this situation in order)

Nov^r 8. Arabs kept up musketry fire on Bourre, for at 1 am [illegible], this morning. it was quite like old times, when it used to go on for months. I never got accustomed to it. for I knew what troops we had, and it always murdered sleep. [illegible]

Nov 8. It must be obvious, that if Sebehr was with you, and installed as Governor with a semi independent position and a subsidy, in the present decaying position of Mahdi, and your temporary presence, he would rally around him a large following. He can now be quoted with Mahdi, as his Divisional, but he will be obliged to hold to him, because you evacuate even those people with us, so he is obliged to join the Mahdi. Sebehr's installation would save you all the bother of Dongola evacuation. You would have only to stay up here a couple of months and perhaps have to keep a Detachment at Berber & Dongola, (in order that Sebehr might get up some munitions) for a time. You have now boats fitted for the communication by Nile, via Abu Hamed, & Sebehr could soon just steam along Nile in a chain. As for slow track Mahdi will be ten times worse than Sebehr, and you could enlist the payment of the subsidy, contingent on the not doing it, on any vast scale. The Sebehr solution is the sort of help very human, between Royal Retreat, and contumelious rumpo-tum either by Graham or yourself. The Mahdi would never get the people to rise again Sebehr, it will be only because they are presented as rallying point, and for fear that they will join him. If you know, they never would have joined Mahdi; if Sebehr had come up, it is only because Sebehr was not here. Berber fell.

Nov 8. 6.30 AM. Arabs streaming across from White Nile to Bourré. Some Arabs on right bank of Blue Nile. look as if they were coming down that bank. to North Fort. have ordered up steamer "Ismailia" & Hussenyeh. Arabs have found our weak point i.e. prolongation of our lines at Bourré. but steamers will drive them out.

Arabs. Bourré

7.30 AM. Zephr still going on, steamer coming up the River. 9.30 AM. steamers come up, and drive Arabs off the right bank Blue. Arabs are enfilading our lines. firing which has been continuous for 4 hrs. has greatly well ceased. up to date, we have had no killed & wounded I am glad to say. During the night, Arabs on left bank, White Nile Mahdi's camp. fired 3 shells acrost the River ending on right bank White Nile, a soldier fell down in thought to have deserted to Arabs last night. 9 AM. the Arabs have collected in vicinity of Omdurman Fort, a heap of cows. Also seem driving down towards the Fort. I have ordered "Ismailia" to go down. I expect they will drive the cows on to the Fort, & try & explode the mines. The Arabs on White Nile, are firing on the lines, with their Krupp, 10 AM. Arabs are leaving vicinity of Bourré & going back to their Dem near White Nile. Arabs near Omdurman Village. firing across the River. towards Khoyum.

Nov 8. Austrian Consul taking his morning Rd 351
ride surprised at seeing two balls strike water near, & so he returned! 10.45 AM. The battles are over, & all quiet. what a worry, all this is! The rockets from Mudaraman, drove back the advance of crows. it was an ingenuous attempt, if meant. I expect Arabs fired away 3000 Rds today. We had 1 man killed in small steamer, and 1 wounded; in the fort, we had 2 wounded, & one man was wounded by bursting of Rocket tube at Mudaraman. I hate these Rockets with sticks, Hobi are the only decent ones, and the sticks have anything to do with their bursting. The composition in these climates shrinks away from the case, and the fire flares up the sides of the exterior and interior of Rocket. I expect we are going to have a series of these festivities. Which are so wearisome. In the "Abbas" were a heap of money orders &c. &c. connected with the merchants here. so we are told they think she could get down. Six soldiers came in from Arab. also four slaves, reports Arabs are thinking of putting a post at Halfayeh, (I hope, they will ask) Mahdi has about 8000 men of sorts, with him, Slatin in chains, also Selim Pasha, Hussein Pasha Khalifa great friends, with Mahdi. Mudaraman captured 16 crows. when they came near the fort, also one shot. they killed one Arab. The men [illegible] came in, say Arabs mean to continue these days festivities every day: they do not seem to care much about the advance of Expedition, or to be enormously confident or ignorant. I do not, at all, enjoy the thought of these daily festivities. they are "Embustipant." as the Austrian Consul says.

Nov. 8. It is very curious what a very little effort, all our immense preparations at Dongola &c. &c. have had on the course of events. one may say, they have not had up to the present the least. Still I have reckoned myself by sending down my steamers and 400 men (only, however, of the best quality) I expect we will have the fortunate turn now on the White Nile end of things. Still it is our weakest point. I must not be blamed at looking forward to a reputation of the first prisoners we have had a very serious time for 2½ months. soldier has come in. says Mahdi thought Khartoum could be victualled from his own camp. but finds it cannot be done. If Lord Wolseley did say, he hoped to relieve Khartoum before "many months", he must have a wonderful confidence in our powers of endurance, considering the Town he is said to have made this utterance. in had been blockaded for 6½ months. and are now in our ninth month. I am quite sure of one thing, that the feeling followed up till lately (and the feeling still may be carried out, of abandoning Sennaar &c.) in our Staff will act detrimentally on our army, for Staff officers would lose any confidence, if they were in a fortress. it might not be thought advisable to abandon him Hills. told me, or rather my friend Boring told me I was not to leave Khartoum. for the Egyptian. still I had permission. I have his telegram. (so. that if it was possible. or if I could do it.) if I did leave Kh. I should be acting upon orders. I should be not like a hypocrite. if I pretended any feeling of respect, towards Hills. after the dance they have led, and still are leading me. this London business will cost me 3000 £ beyond my pay. at least. Still I will not ask them a allow them to pay. I shall get it from others, & I shall get another 1000 £ to buy Illustrated journals, if he has been killed or captured.

Nov 8. Austrian soldier in Jerusalem at Ondurman.
which Fritz has captured 4 more guns, that is
20 today. (A gun is worth 20£ in town.) 400£!
There is one thing which is quite incomprehensible, if it is
right to send up an expedition now, why was it
not right to send it up before? it is all very well to
say one ought to consider the difficulties of the front, but
it is not easy to get over a finding, that "a hope"
"existed of an expedition, being necessary, owing to our"

, as for my-
-self. Personally, I feel no particular concern on the
subject, but I own I do not care to show I like
men whoever they may be, who act in such a collu-
-sive way, and I do not think, one is bound to
ask the hypocrites feast, and pretend to be friendly
towards them. If a boy at Eton or Harrow acted towards
his fellow, in a similar way, I think he would be kicked.
and I am sure he would deserve it. I know of no
sort of parallel to all this in history except it be
David not Uriah the Hittite, and then there was an
Eve in the case. who, I am not aware of, exists in
this case. Remember also that I do not judge the
question of abandoning the garrisons a sin, that I
judge in the wisdom of God. they did not done my
"abandon the garrisons". It is this, prevented me leaving
for Egypt, not the determination not to relieve
me, and the hope, (well! I will not say that the
hope was) ("March, April ..... August, Sept!" he
" ought to have surrendered, he says, 5 months."
") Here is my private
complaint. The second is the Fiction, that it
is the Egyptian Govt. that governs Egypt. [illegible]

Nov 8. [illegible] it is a silly story. In every one sees through it. Can one imagine a greater farce, than Lord North brook asking Disraeli, for the "epistaxis" of Egyptian fruit to carry out that, or that? [illegible] I expect the two roared with laughter, over it. (Sorry, I cannot manage a sketch of the scene) (Baring could never laugh, it is too serious, like fasting in church.) The third grievance is that Truth, with Abyssinia, under the screen of the "Fiction." (if it is true, it has been under) Gordon is a dead letter. I am glad to say.

Nov 9. 4 soldiers, 3 slaves came in, from Arab to-day. Desultory firing on, and from, Arabs at Omdurman, and White Nile lines.

Of the men who came in, one is a slave of Slatin Bey. Mahdi does not mean to fight direct; the Khalifa and Arabs want to fight direct: [illegible] Omdurman killed some of this men, the Arabs have munitions. Slaves in chains. These men brought in their Rifles. Arabs lost at Bourre, heavily, some bodies came floating down River today. A soldier came in from Arabs, a few Arabs came and fired on the fort at Omdurman, & wounded a slave in it.

The people up here would reason thus: if I attempted to leave. "You came up here, and had you not come, we should" "have, some of us got away to Cairo, but we trusted in you, to" "extricate us. You supped & ate supping your provisions in" "order to hold the town. Had you not come, we should have" "gone in at once, & obtained pardon. Now we can, after"

Now "our obstinate defiance, expect no mercy, from the Mahdi"
"She will oblige us. All the blood Shed [illegible] him"
"still accused Emin Pasha. You have taken no money of"
"promised to repay us, all that goes for nought. If you"
"quit us, it is your bounden duty, to stay by us &"
"to share our fate, if the Mahdi first deserts us. This"
"is no reason for you to do so, after our having stood"
"by you." I declare positively, and now for all
that I will not leave the Sudan, until every one
that wants to go home, is given the chance to do
so. until a govt is established. Shall refuse, me
of the charge, champion, if any company or letter
comes up here, ordering me to come home. I will
not obey it. I will stay here, and fall with the
town, and run all risks. These remarks are pro-
duced by the extraordinary confidence of the Arab,[x]
who, I expect, knows more than I do. and that "that
more is that the Expedition has come up for
me personally." I hope, if things do not come to
the worst, & that the Expedition goes back, my
steamers (after abstraction of the Zulfikar Pasha)
will be sent back to this place. with 150 000
Shell, (or as much more as I want)
Boring powder and as much
provision, as can be possibly spared. also a
gun to replace the one lost (or said to be
lost) in "Isbba" trying to communicate with
Europe & Cairo. Unless letter is absolutely required
at Cairo, I would also like him to come up, in (to
real appearance) allowed to escape. I hope the
Shwaka supposed death, if by treachery, will be
avenged in a signal way, on the way down.
A boy was captured, during the Cow business, an
old woman, but he said his father was with the
Arabs, so I let him go back.

[x] contrast with the despair [illegible]
after capture of Khartoum in Kingston
Kitchener with me, Gordon Relief Expedition.

Nov. 9. I have now got all the "telegrams" from Europe "sent" "from", and "received in London" for "1883–84". A splendid collection, full of interest. What ruled "standard" gave for them, however I think, I can afford to be generous, and so I shall send them down with the Vol XI.

The Fort at Suakin captured 21 Guns the enemy. This is splendid, 41 guns in two days.

The only original document I kept here, a Draft I was as near as possible, going to Stewart, is the Firman mentioned page 335. Shall I send with this (appendix X) proclaiming the abandonment of Soudan by Turkish. If Khedive had got this, he would have arrested Stewart if he knew of it. So I shewed it, not knowing well its contents, to Hafiz Pasha Khalifa (and Stewart present, I think would have seen it. × in Draft I criticize my having made so) I felt rather inclined to give it to Stewart. As I felt confident not to get down because I thought, if found with me, Khedive might say "Why you had the order to give up country, from English, & you did not" but then I thought, as I shall be killed, one hour later or later, it does not make any moral difference, if have or not Stewart, so I kept it. I call attention to the fact, that any document (except above mentioned telegram, if Draft N. had taken again) went down with him S. and that will shew how sure, I felt, that he or Power would get down. For otherwise, if I had doubted, I could never have let my original instructions go, how I have not a single Turkish I cannot quote textually: all went with Stewart. But I have my memory & I can give you the "Telegrams", not "Appendix the Supplementary Despatch". I have not written any despatch concerning Stewart or Power. I do not, write my views, any other doubt is an

Nov 9. is an evil; if true. I am sorry for their friends & relations. Steward was a brave, just upright gentleman, can one say more! Power was a chivalrous, brave, honest gentleman can one say more! Hubin, I liked very much, he was a most agreable & gentlemanly Frenchman, and very sharp. The Diplomatic "Evelyn" called him names in a telegram, but I found him frankly just, straight naturally, with a French bias; for my part, I cannot see that harm, the French can do us, if they had a voice in Egypt, and I can see much good arising from it. I believe, if they had had a voice in Egypt, the present state of affairs would never have existed. If you can find no chivalry in your own breast, you had better borrow it from your neighbour. We found yesterday 40,000 Rds of Remington ammn. & we found less than 40 Rds.

Nov 10. This morning. 40 Arabs came down, near Mudaraman Fort, and fired on it. angry about the capture of cows last evening. One soldier & one slave came in from Arabs at Mudaraman. Seven Arabs on Camels, went away from Blue Nile towards Halfyah. I fear a reconnoitring party, previous to their putting a post there. To-day is the day, I expected we should have had some of the Expedition here. Their depot was known in Cairo, on the 21 & 22 Nov since which, Reinforcements to extent of nine persons reached this place (up to date) from Cairo. "for" "which the Egyptian Govt" (answering to the Fiction) "is solely & entirely to blame"!!!!

357 A

L'Administration est priée d'expédier la dépêche suivante d'après les conditions imprimées ci-dessus

Routes

Nom du Destinataire Colonel Fraser
Floyer Halfa

Adresse

No fresh News, anxiously waiting Reinforcements

Telegram sent in Dec 1883 by

Major de Lettre Adresse Khartoum

Le Gouvernement ne prend aucune responsabilité relativement aux retards, erreurs ou omissions qui peuvent se produire dans la transmission des dépêches privées. Il n'est pas responsable des retards, erreurs ou omissions qui peuvent se produire dans la transmission des dépêches privées. Il n'est pas responsable des retards, erreurs ou omissions qui peuvent se produire dans la transmission des dépêches privées.

Il est prévenu que les Dépêches ne sont reçues qu'à la condition qu'aucune responsabilité ne sera encourue à raison des retards dans leur transmission ou leur distribution, ni par suite de leur non-transmission. Il n'est pas responsable des erreurs d'une nature ou cause quelconque. Afin d'éviter les erreurs dans la transmission, toute dépêche reçue sera, c'est-à-dire renvoyée de la station destinataire à la station d'origine. La taxe de répétition sera

Brigade Commissioner Coetlogon had been then informed, that there was no intention to send reinforcements (further than nine persons) for (nearly) a year!

Paraphe de l'employé — Adresse

Date — h. m.

Reçu le Télégramme suivant :

Station de

Administration des Télégraphes Egyptiens du Soudan

Modèle de Réception PRÉAMBULE

Appareil de

N. Etranger N°

N. de Mots A

OBSERVATIONS

Form. N° 3.

Nov. 10. The man who was wounded by the mine is dead. If man knew what the future would bring forth, he would be pretty miserable. Look at the telegrams or other odds written in Dec 83. I could not read those telegrams, or elements journal. For a good deal, when I think how we kept going on delusions for so many months. A soldier + slave have come in from Suakin, at midnight. Four more soldiers came in later in day, they say Slatin is released from his chains, that there is a rumour of the advance of Expedition. Direct on Shendy from Debbe. That two Sheiks + Yusef two priests are still in Obeyd, having refused to become Mahdis. That Arabs look humbly at Berber the day before yesterday. Why Kitchener did not tell me the route Expedition would take, is inexplicable, for it could have done no possible harm, every Mahdi has his spies every where. and it was easy to have avoided the information in terms. I could have understood a Mahdi could not have understood [illegible]. The fellaheen soldier (mentioned page 350) died yesterday. Mahdi.

this morning 6 AM

Nov. 11 Two hundred Arabs came to North of the Ondurman Fort, and fired volleys towards the village of Tuti & the Fort. The Fort answered & the footmen of the Arabs, retreated, then the Arab horsemen made the footmen go back again, and so on, for four or five times, at last they returned. We had 3 soldiers and one woman wounded, only one dead at all events; Arabs must have had 5000 Rds. evidently they do not like much to fight. Nineteen Arabs came along right bank White Nile from Halfayah to Goba and captured a donkey, this even the Shaggyah could not stand, & so I suppose 100 collected out, & some 15 horsemen, then came a running fight across the plain, but it was evident the horsemen could not head the Arabs, however for the rest, it was evident that four or five Arabs were killed & the pursuit is still going on you may imagine Arabs have a good deal of confidence, for these 19 men were distant at least 10 miles of Omdurman from their camp, found one at a time going along & by them they were discovered with the captured donkey. Two at least of these Arabs got away. The Arabs are sure to come down to avenge this.

Noon, Arabs coming down from their camp. Ismailia getting steam up. North Fort reports "Capture" "3 Remingtons! 3 spears! 3 swords! & the killing of 2 Arabs!!" "5 got away"!! The Arabs are halted on the Sand hills. Five soldiers and one woman from Arabs at our Ondurman, "report Arab Rocket tube broken, carriage "& gun broken, Arabs deserting, rumour advance "Expedition, guards going on, Slatin in chains!"

The Shaggyah says they killed 20 Arabs, but they only say they captured 9 arms, so 11 must have been unarmed!!!

Nov. 11. It appears 93000 okes + 166000 okes = thy 361. 259000 okes of Biscuit have been stolen in the last year, only found out now. known or heard now 1/4 million okes. And will see us only for a month or so. It appears that more than thirty of the principal merchants are engaged in above robbery of Biscuit, the process is not yet finished. One of the greatest problems will be what to do with those thieves, those Cairo B. Bazouk and Fellaheen soldiers. Those convicts are short of perhaps the police is one & thieves. The 20 Arabs I mentioned as captured by the men of Sudanese Inf. (making up 41 Cows captured page 356.) were driven in by 5 soldiers escaping from Arabs. & were not captured, they do not stick at a lie, (and in other resemble some people in high places I know) 259000 okes Biscuit, on a good load nearly 2 1/2 million lbs. worth 26000 £. now. or 9000 £ in ordinary times.

Nov. 12. Last night, 3 slaves came in to Sudanese at 11 P.M. they reported Arabs meant to attack today at dawn. it was reported to me but the telegraph Clerk did not choose to tell me till 7. A.M. today. we had been called up at 5.30 A.M. by a violent fusillade of Sudanese. Arabs came out in considerable force, and as I had not been warned the steamers had not steam up. From 5.30 A.M. to 8.30. Arabs came on & went back. continually all the Cavalry were out. the expenditure of Ammn was immense. Arabs had a gun or guns on their bank. details further on. as the firing is still going on.

Nov. 12. 10.30 Alk., for half an hour, firing lulled, but then recommenced, and is still going on. Tewfikia was struck with a shell, but I hear, is not seriously damaged. "Hafsewyh" is aground. (I feel much the want of my other steamers, at Alexandria.) 11.15 Alk. Firing has lulled, it was very heavy for the last 3 hrs. from "Tewfikia" & Arab. it is now desultory, and is dying away. "Hassewyh" still aground. Tewfikia at anchor. What a six hours of anxiety for me, when I saw the shells strike the water near the steamers from Arab. imagine my feelings!

We have 831 t. in spirit & 420000 t. in paper! and there is 14600 £ — paper not in turn! I call the state of Finance not bad after more than 8 months blockade. the troops are owed ½ month's pay, & even that can be scarcely called owed them, for I have given them stores & beyond the regulations. ~~[illegible]~~ Now firing ceased, I am glad to say, I have lived years in these last hours! Had I lost the "Tewfikia", I should have lost the Hafsewyh. (aground) & then Ondurman, & the Khartoum! & then the town! 1 P.M. Arabs firing on the steamers with their two guns. Hafsewyh still aground, that is the reason of it. Firing 1.30 P.M. now has ceased. "Tewfikia" struck by 3 shell. had 1 man killed. 15 wounded on board of her. she did really very well. I boxed the telegraph clerks ears, for from not giving me the telegram last night (after repeated orders that no communication was to prevent him coming to me) & then as my conscience pricked me, I gave him 5 ℔. he said, he did not mind if I killed him, I was his father. (A chocolate colored youth of 20) I have all them in hospital

Nov. 12. (Insubstantiant as Hamill calls it) but Sudan is one to do, if you cut their pay, you knock them families. I am an advocate for summary & quick punishment. Shd have only the defaulter, & the Clerk round me. If camp at Day break, the steamers wd have had them steam up & be ready. We have a Krupp at Mogrum, Fratel Pa reports he has dismounted one of Arab guns. Arab's had a show of 400 Horsemen. Shot hope for off. Telegraph on & is interrupted between them & the Mudiriah Fort. (Whether by bullet or starvation, is not known as yet) Considering that the Arab mountain gun can [illegible] (& has) knock holes 2 ft square, in the steamers, it is not to be wondered at any casualty. (I feel, as if I had walked 30 Miles.) We fired 83 rounds of Krupp at Arabs for Mogrum 43 Rockets. Arabs fired 370 Rds from their guns. at steamers. As for Arab Remington, we fired, from our steamers, Forty & 5 Rds. 5000. and I certainly think Arabs fired as much, Mudiraman certainly was "over eager to fire on the enemy" in the early dawn. and consequently wasted Ammn. thus ends the greatest battle (as yet) of our second blockade. Spies (of last night) say it was undertaken upon Mahdi's wish, by his Khalifa or Vizier. He persuaded him to allow it. During us all the Arabs on both E. & West Coasts were moved up to fly. Like the Chinese, we may calculate, they will never upset our another

* Vide Gladstone's despatch — Mahdi Veto

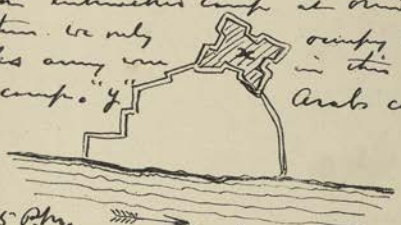
Nov 12. This is our first encounter with the Mahdi's personal troops — We tumble at 3 o'clock in a terrible state. Tap! tap! tap! tap! tap! a drum! it comes into a dream. but, after a few moments, one becomes more awake, and it is revealed to the brain, that one is in Khartoum the next query is, Then is this tap tapping going on, a hope arises it will die away, no! it goes on, a increase in intensity, the thought strikes me, "how they enough" "amir" (the escaped of bad soldiers), one orients oneself: at last, it is on me. up, one must get. & go on Roof of palace. then telegrams, orders, swearing, & cursing, goes on, till about 9 o'clock. Then they say, That they like about glorious war. but to me, it is a horrid nuisance. (if it is permitted to say anything is a nuisance, Death comes on us.) I saw that poor little beast the "Hopeyngh" (a Shaw command) fall back, from fragments, under a terrific fire of hand bombs, I saw a shell strike the water, it has been, I saw her stop & puff off steam, & I saw the flag to my boy sickened into Death. and I will say my thoughts turned on Darling, more than any one. & they were most tenderest towards him. My boy (he is 30) said. "Hopeyngh is sick". I knew it, but said quietly "go down a telegraph Megan "is Hopeyngh sick" ? answer "no". I asked again. answer "no" then telegraph send" he "was aground" Hopeyngh was

Nov 12. [illegible]

2.45 PM "Jemailia" tried to take "Hespemyth" in addition to the one she [illegible] was struck twice with shells, so she desisted from the attempt. Sent Jenny on "Hespemyth". I have used the Knight of Madgwick to play on the arch guns, & shall visit, till night, to take off "Hespemyth" she is among the left tanks, then the right tanks: it is not clear, if she is aground or half sunk. (arguably a trouble.) 3.30 PM. Subs are bringing their guns ashore to the aground & half sunken "Hespemyth". The "Jemailia" reports that the two last shells have done her no material damage. 4.30 PM. The Subs have now 3 guns bearing on the "Hespemyth". 6 PM. Firing has ceased. I hope to get Hespemyth off at night. [illegible]

Nov 12. 7 P.M. Arabs keep up a dropping fire on "Hesperus". Shall I hear, how two shell holes in her? and how six men including Capt. wounded. (~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~) I must say the Arabs today showed the greatest of pluck, over, and over again, they returned to the attack, though overwhelmed with the murderous fire of the constellated "Jemailia". I think they must have lost heavily, for at times, they came in dense groups. I believe that, by the Arabs, we may understand our own regulars, captured in Kordofan & Darfour &c. &c. We are going to get "Hesperus" off tonight, if we can. Her R.N. brethren would have laboured better than "Jemailia" today, she poured a regular storm of Arabs guns, upwards of twenty times, when any one well-placed shell would have sunk her; whether the crew knew it, or not, does not matter. I did & felt comfortable accordingly. The Arab guns are at 1200 yds distant from her & even less at times, she was struck five times with shell. Remember, that the "Jemailia" is only a superior pleasure boat, and that the Egyptian Mountain gun is a superior to our original 7 Pr. or a 3 Pr. is to a 12 Pr. Howitzer. both for range & for effect. You want a gun, to make a hole, not a gimlet-hole, which these 7 Prs do. & that experience only to any them!

Nov. 12. All this morning (Remainder of yesterday) Due to the Cholera, the Coloured Clerks of the Telegraph are running me: this morning, there was an ominous sign that Arabs on River Nile knew of our troubles with "Hafsingeh": they came up opposite Bourré, but two gunboats drove them off. At 4 P.M. Arabs on right bank fired 12 shells opposite the Lines & fired a few Martinis, in a short time, but did no harm. I have given ½ months pay to "Jemeilia" & "Hafsingeh" crews, and 2 days for the men, who have gone, to get the latter off: she is not half sunk, but is aground. The Shell holes are above water line. There is (8 P.M.) a fire on left Bank (East Nile) opposite Helfyeh. The Arabs got in the ditch of the entrenched Camp at Ondurman. Still is there. We only occupy the Fort & Hicks army ran in this entrenched camp. "Y" Arabs came to Y



8.15 P.M.
Arabs have still their guns, on River bank & are firing at the "Hafsingeh". Now I am trying, by my men, to get off. Evidently they are not crowds, for generally they take their guns back at night to their camps. Report from "Hafsingeh" Steamer. 10.20 P.M. Wounded 8. Killed 3. Efforts as yet, are unsuccessful as to taking off the Steamer "Hafsingeh".

Nov. 13. "Ismailia" 2. Alle. got struck × 368
by two shell, going to take off the
Hafsenzyeh, so we took her gun
out & her crew. & have left her.
At 6.30 Abu. Arab commenced firing
on town at Bourre and 7. Abu. Seen
they are coming over to Goba, bringing
a gun with them. Arab at Mudaiman
quiet. Arabs have fired five times
with their gun at the Mudaiman
Fort. Arab have got their gun at
the Village outside Sheikh Ali, near
end of town on White Nile, and have
fired shells at the times. Our telegraph
was cut yesterday morning with Mudaiman
Fort. and cannot be repaired (8. Abu) for
Arabs are shelling that Fort. The Arab,
on North side, have their gun on the low
sand hills some 4000 yds. off and are
shelling us, Munkeley firing going on
at Bourré. Arab had their guns last
night defending approach to Hafsenzyeh
We are repairing "Ismailia". The barrenda of
the steersman of Hafsenzyeh got struck by
a shell, ~~[illegible]~~ We raised
a parapet on iron tank to defend any approach
of Arabs to "Hafsenzyeh". Mudaiman had
yesterday ¼ million cartridges Remington.

× Sergeant Abdullah stating Ismailia "hung" a Fellah, struck down, & killed.

Nov.r 13. Mudiraman Fort has 1½ months supply of food & bad water. it was a fault to place it so far from river, yesterday it had not its flag up. today it has. Arabs have sent 200 men & to Gobat. but the village Hogali Arab was the one close to Palace having been levelled, they are too far off to do us any harm. There is a report in town the Arabs say, they will enter it to-morrow. and say three steamers in the Mosque on Friday. Arabs at Gobat wanting a lot of some Remington then bullets do not reach us. they will be bothered for water, for we filled up all the wells in Gobat. 9.15 Alle Arabs have returned from Gobat ~~at bombarded Khartoum~~ Kartoum (village) 10 Alle. ~~Arabs Khartoum Arabs~~ ~~Arabs cut off Mudiraman Fort, captured the water gunboat and bothered Mudiraman Fort by~~ ~~musketry & Arabs~~ they have made a long detour, and have gone to the fortifications & our lines at Bourré, right-bank Blue Nile, where they are firing heavily. I expect to fired 500000 rounds yesterday, and the Arabs rather more, while today Arabs have fired a great deal. We calculate that, with Arabs army, we had 1.000.000 cartridges, and now it is a year ago. During Arab time, with the firing here and elsewhere ^ during a year 2/3 of that million must be expended, and they have no means to renew the cartridges. they cannot have much more than 300.000 Rds.

Nov 13. Arabs have now gone from opposite Berber (18 Sth) having fired a nice lot of ammo & hurt us not in the Zeit. Our caravan Fort is still cut off from us, Arabs at a. b. c

The Arabs certainly got the best of it yesterday, though I expect they paid for it. It appears the Hussein got aground, though not doing what the Reis told him. Fortunately I had foreseen the likelihood of the Fort & Sudan men being cut off, and had provisioned it. If the Expedition comes at all, it ought to be here, before long. We had 15 men wounded yesterday, 3 rather dangerously, and 7 were killed. I never felt anxious about any of the fights, except when the steamers are engaged, and then, I am, I am on tenter hooks, as long as they are out. 1 Pdr. Arabs have got 4 guns down on River, and are firing across River at the Mogrim Fort, which is answering by Krupp & rockets. We are not fortunate with the little steamers I had brought out in sections, from England. We have lost, at any rate, temporarily, one, the "Hussein" another, the "Abbas"; when is the? and Arabs have the third, the "Mehemet Ali", on Blue Nile. Arabs fired from 4 guns on the Lines near White Nile this morning. they fired 60 Rds? Musketry 3 Pdr. firing all day across river, between our men & Arabs. Certainly we have been left to almost the very last extremity, and I declare I think the year will be complete, from time Cairo heard of Hicks' defeat, to time of Relief Expedition arriving here!!! And I am sure if an enquiry was made it would be made out, no one was to blame

Nov 13. [illegible]

Arabs have 18 boats plying as ferry from one side White Nile to other. They may try with them boats to get hold of the Hussein yat. or close to board her, then are only some bags of biscuit on board. but as the steamer is blinded, if Arabs once get on board, it would be very difficult to dislodge them unless we sink the steamer. Je they will find the biscuit a so have plenty to eat. 15 shells fell into the town this morning but did no harm

Nearly all the Arab force struck camp on North side today one steamer, with them perhaps 40 Horsemen Arabs. eventually Arabs will find out the unimportance of these Mamelukes. Four bullets came from Arabs to Palace today 2000 yds. a camel with a good force. A native of Kutum came & complained he had had nothing to eat for himself & family for four days. they found 8 ardebs of Dhurra in his house & in another House 40 ardebs were found.

Nov 14 8 AM. Arabs on both sides of Blue Nile began firing on Bourré at 5.30 AM. and it is going on now. they kept up for more than ¼ hr. a continuous roll of fire, and have wasted a precious lot of shot. they brought down one of their guns. & fired a few rounds. Up to this time, no one wounded at Bourré

Two Shilluk men crossed from Mudaraman, & report Mirabi Ullah as all right. and no one wounded in the Fort. Arabs fired their guns on Fort this morning.

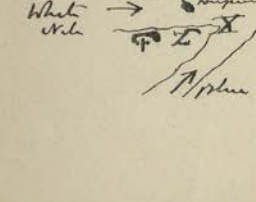
An Arab tried to swim off to the steamer (they say?) they, our men, shot.

I wonder, when King John is, with his brave soldiers?

I argue thus. 1. It would be impossible for Expedition Force, once having come to Dongola, not to move up to Metemma or vicinity of Berber & 2. that, once at Metemma, or Berber. they will find the steamers, & consequently must communicate with Khartoum. 3. once they communicate with Khartoum. they must assume the responsibility of the fort of that place. (Of course, when once that responsibility is assumed, the decision, as to what they will do rests with them) 4. It is impossible for them to build long new road, between Dongola (or Debbe) and Metemma. 5. It will be impossible for them, owing to the events of last few days, to avoid collision with the Arabs, around Khartoum a week ago. It might have been possible, but now Arabs are too close to town, to avoid it. Mudaraman Fort being cut off. till other arrangements be taken, to reopen communications the Arabs may run away. but somehow since a few days. I doubt it.

A soldier came in to North Fort from Arabs this morning.

Nov 14. Another fish they told me that they had got all out of Hafsemyeh. Let the boat aside, it appears that the Arm is still on her. No church Parade on the right bank of Nile (Kalakla) but one is going on, at Gurffa on Blue Nile. It appears last night, that a boat went off to "Hafsemyeh", that the men in the boat, got frightened at the challenge of our own men, and jumped into water, and left their boat, [illegible] I went down to Mogram, and found Samaika has been struck by seven shell, & is pock-marked with bullets all over. Arabs some 400 Rifles have a long trench opposite Hafsemyeh, & have erected a parapet on our side opposite her. Arabs have 4 guns. From Shirk they kept up a desultory fire, doing no harm. Arab rifle fire, continuous & futile; guns less heavy but I expect equally futile. Our Arabs keep under cover. Arabs fired regular vollies upwards of five Shell I saw them, they appear to delight in the noise. The Hafsemyeh is about 12 00 yds from the point X. 800 yds from Y, and 1800 yds. from Z. Shirk my last trench is.




Hafsemyeh lies just off the Arabian end of the entrenchment of our armies Entrenched camp.

Nov 14 she has her steam to Arabs.

A soldier came in to North Fort from Arabs on Blue Nile, reports that a man with letters, came night before last to the Fort of Mudaraman, & called out to the sentinels, but before they could let him into the Fort, the Arabs captured him & the letters. I hope to be able tonight to communicate by Bugle sounds with Mudaraman Fort.

Revised list of the Robbery. 172 000 obs Bricait they change every day. We have today in the Magazine 240 000 obs Bricait 1826 and obs Dhurra. Have about 1000 obs to be given 4000 obs to be sold.

The Mudaraman Fort is ill placed, as it cannot see the Ground down to the River, and is distant 1200 yds from the River. The Arabs on left bank White Nile opposite Hafperwych number 500. (I expect all are my soldiers) and they are so far away for any reserve, that it would be easy to crush them, before they were aided, if we dared to try. Think we do not. ~~I think~~. I was at Magazine Fort for half an hour, during Shirk Arabs fired. As I calculated 15 shell, and 5000 Rds. & no one was touched, indeed when them bullets went. I could not see a hair. no troops could stand that, and after 5 min drum. they were still at it. with Rifle guns. Bonne, in spite of all the heavy firing has no casualties. 80000 Rds would scarcely cover our <u>united</u> expenditure today.

Nov. 14 Reports from Arabs at different times said Abdulla had brought 200 (some say 120) Camel loads of Munitions Ramingtons from Obigad, say 200. & say each Camel carried 2 boxes. each box 1000, so that he had, before he began 800.000 Rds. he must have expended in the last week, 250000 to 300000 Rds. and has left, 550.000 Rds or 500000 I do not expect he has 200.000 Rds left, which is his weekly expenditure, if he goes on at the rate he is going now. We turn out on an average 40000 Rds a week, and are well ahead of our requirements. Looking at the Arab gunners, with my telescope. they never seem to bother themselves about aim, but just to load & fire. it is, I suppose difficult when the steamers are in action. The officer in command of Mogren Fort was wounded in arm at Sundown. ~~[illegible]~~ The Captain of Hesperus died today. We suppose that on board the Hesperus, are the men, I mentioned as having jumped out of their boat last night on challenging. I sent also a soldier of Abd'ammon who swam off to the Hesperus, to fetch off a boat to take them off. a volunteer is wanted, for which Boy Cook of the Fort is in our service, to swim off a boat to Hesperus to take them off. a volunteer is wanted, we would today, by a ball from Bonne distant 2500 yds. The Arab fire on Bonne, renders the vicinity of Palace far more dangerous than Bonne. the balls fall so plentifully around the Mudirat, that is close by, that the Jemk Camel are obliged to lay to, for some time till the firing ceased it is at least 2500 & 3000 yds from the Palace to the place Arab fire from.

Nov. 14. W. have just the guns of the ~~Mahdi~~ steamer Jomailia on the bank of Nile, to cover the approach to "Hafsenyeh". The Greek consul says "the balls fell like water" on the road leading to Police. I believe a good deal, if you hear the ammn. in the dropping fire of Rifles at even 3000 yds. the balls that fell on Police are fairly flattened, showing they have plenty of life to kill. The Buglers have communicated with Fort underman Ras on all well. 8 Pm. tomorrow we will have signals with flags: Out of evil comes good, if Hafsenyeh was not agreed, and instead of concentrating their attention & on her would have diverted it on the Fort. Shell out of would suffer, as it is now. the Fort is unmolested. Bullets rained on hospital yesterday & today. but did no harm? I calculate that the "Jomailia" has 2000 bullet marks on her.

Nov. 15 Last night we sent off boat to Hafsenyeh and took off the soldiers of Emirs Ullah Beg who had come from underman, also the 10 men who jumped into water from them boat the night before. Emirs Ullah writes he is all well. he wants ammn!!! he had 230000 Rds three days ago. he says he has now 150000 Rds more also he has Regulars 470, each 100 Rds 47000.00, he has irregulars 170, each 200 Rds 34000 altogether, in Hafsenyeh of Fort 150000 Rds with men 81.000, total ammn. in Fort 231000 yet he calls for ammn!!! Hicks took 100000 The Buglers communicated well with the Fort at underamen, Buglers then spoke the soldiers on Mahdi's side, but they did not answer, we invited them to come over to us.

Nov 15. The five Jalucca sheik took the men off the "Hafsenzyd", could not seen by Arabs. I sent an Engineer to take off the steam cocks of "Hafsenzyd": the five Jalucca took off, this time, every thing from Hafsenzyd Biscuit Guns &c. &c. ~~[illegible]~~. It appears that the Arab who was watching Hafsenzyd, had gone off to Kerreri opposite Halfyah but this is doubtful.

Nov 15. At dawn Arabs opened heavy fire with the usual futile effect on Bourie. also they fired with gun & Musketry, on Omdurman Fort.

At Omdurman Fort, they have had, in last five days, 4 killed, 16 wounded.

One shell from Arabs struck "Hafsenzyd" yesterday, but did no harm, for she is well aground — No wounded at Bourie, today, by Arab fire.

The Binbashi who was wounded in arm yesterday evening, was lying on his angareb when he was wounded, in that he thought a secure place. he died today.

Arabs from Omdurman side of River have kept up Musketry fire of ~~[illegible]~~ & musketry all day, but at sun down, the fire was much heavier, & if Arabs go on, like that for many days, they will be out of Ammunition for Gun & Rifle.

It has turned out a benefit for us, the Hafsenzyd going aground, for the attention of Arabs is directed to her. & they fire scarcely at all on the Fort at Omdurman, even if in had her, she could do little good. The other little steamer will be completed in 12 days.

Nov. 15. I think I have been rather unjust towards the fellahen soldiers, for though he is not brave enough to take the field, he has done good work on board the steamers, and a good many of the officers & men have been killed & wounded (thanks to Allah) they that has been followed in a general battle does not concern them. These remarks are produced by a visit, I made to the Hospital today. There I saw the most of the wounded were fellahen soldiers whom I put on the steamers, because, when in action, they could not run away, while I kept the Bedouins for defence of the Line. As I was leaving the hospital today, a dead man was carried out by four men in chains (convicts) on a stretcher accompanied by two soldiers with fixed bayonets! to be buried as a dog. There is part of the glory of war. According to the demands for ammunition we are firing away 40000 Rds per diem. The officers ask for fresh Remingtons, as by the constant firing their arms have got out of order. I fear we shall want support, for if not relieved in a month, our food supply fails. I calculate the above rate of expenditure of shot, we have 50 days cartridges. I like to go down, with our colours flying. The rebels are quite equalling us in ammunition, and they have no reserve of shot, or means of repairing their arms. I am going to call the new steamer the "Sebehr" after Sebehr Pasha Rahama. the town wanted it called after me, but I said "I" "have just sent 2 of you in prison, a shame" "hulling you, & I have no fear of your forgetting me."

Nov. 16 Arabs quiet, little firing at Khartoum, I expect Mahdi has found out that his men have been making away with his shot too fast, even as I have found it out. A small fortune in Church pence going to men Mahdi's camp this morning.

Nov. 16. The Arabs at Mahdi's camp have moved the Camp further inland, they did this, at sundown yesterday. It is on the topic, that they may retake Metemmeh, if so, it will be glorious. the camp opposite the Tower on South is much diminished, only more than 5 or 6 tents. the Arabs there have gone to Shendy & El-a-fourn on Blue Nile. With exception of Arab guns firing, on Mogrim, and our guns answering, every thing is quiet today. in a couple of hours. Arabs fired 16 shells, without the least effect. their guns charge must be nearly expended. A woman was slightly wounded at Bourre this morning. The Arabs work on a regular principle, with the captured Black troops, they know that they will escape to us, if they can, in fact welcome, so they keep them on short rations, and promise them full rations, if they fight us. they then force them into contact with us. for (at first) appearance sake, to get the full rations; then in contact with us, in fear of us, & kill some of them, then their blood gets up, and they retaliate on brave volunteers, and are egged on by the Arabs. Who say to them "Now you have fired on the Government troops, you are in for it, the Government will never pardon you." & so they in self defence more deserters, it was the same way in Bourre, before we fired on the Arabs. in fact plenty of deserters, but when well, in fear of them, in skating, no more came in, they are imprisoned with Mahdi's camp, and afraid of us, if they come in. The foreigners were the children of slain parents captured, when young & they fought with vigour against the Christians when they grew up. Scarcely ever is the true Arab in the front, as they say.

Nov 16. We have 90 men in Hospital at present, of which 54 are wounded. We had one man killed and one wounded at Magersum. ~~[illegible]~~ today. A woman was wounded in the town yesterday. Report in town says 70 of our captured soldiers have deserted & have entered the Dutch army.

Having been assured by my officers, that it was a most terrible risk, even to go along the bank near Hedemaydt, even by night, owing to the Dutch Rifle fire, a thing extremely sceptical of the fact: (putting down the information given me, as an excuse for doing nothing) I made taking off the Hedemaydt, the first night she got aground; or also, as an effort to exchange the danger of being of those men. She did take off the Sunday or the night before last) I made down tonight at 11.30 P.M. found it was all a myth, a chance if I wished, I could take her off, without any risk, however, as she is a target to complain the attentions of the Dutch. She have the Dutch, at our answer about it, consequence of her, I shall leave her alone. Of course, must stop to say. I found all the officers in charge, absent. They had gone home to bed! However I am not just not at it. they are, as a rule, the very pick of the corps. a certainty will change their natural. The "Hedemaydt" lies close to the junction of White & Blue Niles & one may say, in within an hour. I dare say this is a repetition, but if we do get out of this mess, it is a miracle. for I do not think a slacker lot of officers ever could be found. but a bad enemy always complains of

his tools. a good workman knows not good work, however rotten his tools may be.

Nov. 17. It is really amusing to find (when one can scarcely call one's life one's own; one's servants already with one wife (third must soon find, is enough) coming & asking for leave for three days, in order to take another wife. yet such is the case, a few days ago, with one of my servants.

Arabs this morning from Bonne, from Bir Sik, and from Ouidoman. they are also keeping up considerable fire. At the Mahdi's camp, they had another "Grand Parade" today. I suppose, they are working up their fanaticism. Arabs have a Krupp field gun opposite the little steamer "Hopewell".

Town people are pleased at the new steamer being called the "Sebehi", Anti slave trade will be furious. If Sebehi had come up, I should have had news long before now. it does seem ridiculous, that Sir one apparent policy is to hand over the Soudan to the Mahdi, who, with his people, are far more slave hunters than Sebehi ever could be. we should, if we had taken part, not have utilized this man in this expedition. ~~[illegible]~~. There are about 200 people on Island of Tuti, yet last night one Arab came over, killed a man & carried off 3 donkeys. they do not deserve the name of men. Were Sebehi could track up these fellows. he could get at Tuti & get all the men between 18 and 50. at least 30 blows of Kourbatch. I am obliged to content myself with lamentations.

Nov. 17. ("Counts the months. March. April. May. June. July." "August. Sept. Oct. and half November! Why I" "declare, it is a breach of contract.")

If it is true about the rejection of Abyssinians at Keren, I expect there was roars of laughter in Downing Street, at the greenness of Her Majesty the Empress John. (as Mussolini calls him) It is very odd, but we have had no news of them for months, not since September. "Baring to Egerton" "You said "it was too dreadful," what will you say now" "I told you, he has made sketches of you and me" "and oh! horrible to relate, put them in his semi" "official journal, and we can do absolutely nothing. For" "if he is attacked, or hing a British officer, he says he" "made the sketches, or for fun, or in error." ~~Why he~~ ~~should say a thing like that I cannot see.~~

Undoubtedly my report for Stewart, the boss of his journal offends me. For there was lots of things in it, of interest. all the Powers (including Pope and excluding England & France) were appealed to in a touching manner, to save and succour Jews under Baker Pasha, & to stop the wave of Denial fanaticism. I also sent to Sutton, I don't know if these appeals ever got through, he should have them all copied in his journal. Events and my despatches had almost made him, Sutton, as vicious as I am. Baring's ears ought to have burned, for the last 8 months he was nicely dissected by us all (Poore aiding.) If Herbert the French Consul had got down. Baring would have had a time of it. For Herbin says that Barrère the French Minister went to Baring, before Herbin left and Baring did not tell him (Barrère) anything about the evacuation of London; I guess Baring will ~~get~~ shelter himself under the "future" that he or British Ministers had nothing to do with it. What a farce, if it did not end with useless lives. When one thinks that Baring rules there as a galley slave. For such criminal results, one ought to pity him.

Nov 17 I have sent 150 of these superior troops (the shaggyeh) to Fola of Jute, in consequence of the outrage of last night (which I do not believe in. that we were come over, & killed another man, & carried off 4 donkeys, in a small boat - is absurd.) however the shaggyeh are safer in Fola of Jute, than in North Fort. At 7. Pm. Ibrahim came down & joined us Bonné from left bank of Blue Nile. The officer (a full colonel of my creation,) asked me "is he to fire back?" I said "better not ask me that question, unless you want "to catch it" " 7. 10 Pm. Ondurman Fort is firing away. I certainly lay claim to having commanded more often than any other man, cowardly troops but this experience of 1884. beats all past experiences. the end of the matter is, that you cannot believe one word the officers say. With respect to the alleged shot from the Fort - alleged last night, he says he was in the telegraph station, which is a domed-fellow-hood. however I did not say to him, more than call him a liar, which he probably considers a compliment. a sort of adjutant, whom I had borne with for a long time, told me two cold lies in two days as I handled him out: Can it be endured at that after nine months and more of this vacillating sort of military envy, and theft of civil envy, I am heartily sick of the Red affair. and provided I am not made a party (& I will not be) to a shilly retreat I should be glad to be out of this place.

[illegible]

Nov 17. Sent, fired 15 shells, after the first of which only one round to shake the Kaiser. [illegible] one man was wounded at Ploegsteert with splinter of shell [illegible] The shells from ours ought to be in bad state of repair, for our carpenters are constantly at work making new ones, and Sister has no means of so doing. The Huguenots has just left the Division of What a Blue Nile and not as I showed the position page 373 All the scratched out portion is about some one said "if you feel angry, then write your angry letter and then tear it up."; it certainly does relieve the mind to write one's bile, and it is good also to scratch it out, for I dare say Baring is doing his duty, [illegible] better than I am. he is certainly more patriotic, if patriotism consists in obedience to the existing govt of one's country. Doctor reports that the shells & bullets of Sept fell all around the Hospital this morning, but did no harm, they came from Bourré.

Nov 18. Every thing quiet all round the place, they fired a few shots with their guns, at the lines, near Petit Nile.

Nov^r 18 11.30 Allr. Arabs on right bank of Blue Nile have moved towards the North & from the number of porters, I expect they are going to form a camp to the north.
It may be turned as one likes, three prominent undeniable facts exist. Hall. S. refused to help Egypt with respect to Sudan. refused to let Egypt help herself. refused to allow any other power to help her, this cannot be disputed or explained away. Lord Dufferins despatch was "hands off". resignation of Cherif, was the prohibition of allowing Egypt to help herself these tardy excuses under pressure, and Baring's despatch establishes the unwillingness to help.

The Arabs have settled down in the old Dem, they occupied in March last!! opposite Palace. a Brick they evacuated in Augt. their vicinity will give us more spies, which we have lacked hitherto, this proceeding does not show as if they were much appalled at the advance of the Expeditionary force. On the 12 March. they pitched their tents on the very spot, they are pitching them now. 251 days ago. During which we have night, and day, been in hostilities with them, and been obliged to keep on the alert. "Because of?" "Because of?" "what"? the answer has been three times.

Nov. 18. Arab guns on Mud-arm side firing. 1.30 P.M. on Maqum. They have expended a lot of gun-cotton in last few days. 3.30 P.M. they are still firing, one can distinguish the Abu-dufeldo. I remember how Sam Hicks left for London papers quote of the great effort that the Abu-dufeldo were to have on the Arabs! Like the French before the Franco Prussian war, with their Mitrailleuses. At 4 P.M. they fired for a quarter hour quickly, then we cannonaded by five guns, which approached the fort, the men of which killed three. (as tonight they will have meat) Arabs fired 15 shells one after the other, spit fire! Fort, for this outrage on the Prophet. I shall have to move three separate troops the struggle not of the North fort. For the approach of Arabs, has filled them with dismay, I have kept moving them, from one place, the Arab came near, it is really absurd. that we should have to pay, a half dead troop. I will say Ferratch Pacha (however irritating he is, in some ways.) is always the gentleman. While I am sorry to say I am not, with the Jaaly. I get in. on states occasions. A woman came in, from South fort, says they are all my soldiers, & are fighting on the left bank of Nile & that they beat hard in the day "Hafamugh" got aground. I am moving three struggle to the time it is no use opening them to be attacked. The Arabs are on North fort, opposite palace on the mouth of Abiad, not on Khor, the men of the fear-Sheikh el Obeyd, Abu Dom not seem to have entered cordially into the second blockade of Khartoum. We had tonight Arab fires all around us, and are regularly hemmed in, but the town does not care a bit and are fighting questions of pay with me. For I am forging in paper, the 3 months backshead, I promised them.

Nov. 18. The Allegiance was short. Shaw lying on his
argent. a Sea Devil of his wound. on 3000yds
distant from the Arab. we do not know yet
the effect of the Rifle, in a drooping fire.
I offered in paying the 3 months Subsidy to troops
to give orders for talle sums 120 & 130 £. but
they refused to accept them, they want the regular
paper money, as I have issued 10000 £ more in
50 £ notes. In this paper money note. I am
personally responsible for the liquidation, and
any one may bring an action against me, in my
individual capacity to recover the money. Shall in
the orders. it might be a query, whether they (the
authorities of Cairo) might not decline to pay the
orders. Paper money was cannot be bought at a
discount, people have tried to buy it up. but they
failed. I consider this is very satisfactory for our
credit. Well I, as well as the Sudan people, will
not need to wait a report after me, in order to
remember me, if even if they felt so disposed,
which I very much doubt. We shall get lots of
offers in, now Arabs have hemmed us in. In other
deserts, if you have a spare unguent. you can
at once, may me coming over it. but if you unguent
it entirely, then it the wound going to go. or
there is very slight. I do not think it is realized
what happened in Hicks defeat a year ago.
10000 soldiers including 2000 Cavalry. 4000 camp
followers 7000 Camels. finished in two days. In
short. 17000 Rifles 100000 Rds Remington ammn. one

Nov 18. ~~one~~ captured, 7 Krupps 6 Nordenfeldts, 29 mountain guns with 500 Rds each ~~one~~ captured perhaps 300 men ~~one~~ shared out of the loot.) ~~Boats~~ English killed 8; Germans 8. ~~one~~ killed. and according to all accounts, they ~~were~~ so exhausted that they ~~were~~ unable to move. Stewart took great pains to get all the details, & wrote them in his journal. The Arabs have made a pyramid of the skulls. The Allagir Bey ~~was~~ wounded. at Abyssinian ~~was~~ sleeping in the telegraph station in the Zeriba. he found it hot & went out & got struck & died. if you went to the Zeriba at Abyssinian, you could (on seeing the position Stewart took him) say you were as safe there, as in Regent Street. This man was a very timorous man, & had avoided every service of the least danger. it is no use fighting, you get your destiny. The Doctor described to me tonight, the state of ~~him~~ ~~your~~ eye, when they found it Defect of Sight, and one compares it to our present state, when we say, perfect confidence exists in the true, and every one has some ~~confidence~~ to bet. it is a lesson to man to never despair.

Nov 19. Arabs came down 7 ~~men~~. to Gebe. opposite Palace, & fired but did no harm, they are pulling down Seyd Abdel Osman's house, think ~~we~~ spared. Ismail Abdel did not dare to go out for the three days, killed last night. The Arabs heard a bugler of ours ~~not~~ there at Gebe, he bugled. a call "1st Regiment", & then ~~one~~ apparently stopped, he then bugled "we are strong", "we are strong". I have packed up and addressed to Chief of staff, S.E.F." all Simpson telegrams sent from, and received in Soudan for year 1883-84." and send the box with this portion of Journal. Arabs have put a gun in a breast work on left bank White Nile, below Omdurman Fort. so as to bar the entrance to Khartoum on North.

Nov. 19. We have communicated with Andersonville, but with flags it is all right. Banks are not giving today (since 8.30 A.M.) Twelve days have to elapse ere the months return become due. This evening, it is reported to me that those utterly useless troops from 50 Brabi Regiments began crying that they had nothing to eat, and were ready to go in to throw down their arms, now this is rather too much considering that they are receiving the full rations of others, and also the pay of men who are supposed to find themselves, so that it is a perfectly gratuitous gift to give them rations at all or if I do so, I should not them pay the best of it is that I have given them full rations for the month, which has 12 days yet to run ere that month is out. I do not know if even the Expedi-tionary Force will come here, and I do not know the policy, that will be pursued, but there is no change. I think I am justified in demanding the disbandment of these brutes, to whom only yesterday I gave a gratuity of 50 H to erect their huts-tents, a totally unnecessary proceeding on my part, of course. If I can hand over the post to the Expeditionary Force I leave. I have nothing to say, he can do, as he likes. [illegible]. What irritates me, is that [illegible] a row like this is aided & abetted by every officer, inasmuch as it is to me, the row is brought, they, during not, to decide. If even it must be seen. That situated, as we are, if the Corps can take rations for a month & eat them in a fortnight, a thing yet never it is virtually giving double rations to the troops. For if you give to one month all the rest will want it

~~Nov 19. Wh speaks broadways, that my kindness, abu~~
~~risk here to prepare my road, that when I appeal~~
~~as I am to help a case and stand by me and by~~
~~action. Today Bairam. All Effendi come to shake hands.~~
~~I say my Abdin is with road to Khartoum with~~
~~attack all Arabs and my friends with Khartoum.~~

Nov 20. Caravan of 300 men 20 Camels, came up left bank of White Nile, from direction of Metemma and Jmm. A soldier came in from Arabs. says "the "Mahdi sent 2000 men down towards Metemma in" "aumat of advance of Expedition. who are near" "Berber." also "report advance of King Johannes." (Think I doubt.) I expect the Caravan seen today is a caravan with ivory from Berber. Report in town, says Arabs have been repulsed three times by the Expedition -ary Force. Arabs very quiet today. their Nordenfeldt kept on grunting at intervals the morning. ~~Abdel~~ of three precious troops the Shaggyeh (one a Bulak Arab) have deserted to Arabs, it was never reported to me. I have a suspicion that more have gone. We communicated with our caravan last by fly signals ~~today~~ they are all right Arabs fired from their guns on White Nile, and our caravan side, a few rounds this evening. It is rather astonishing to find that the two Arabs returns maybe before last, was made by the Cairo Arab Regts. who are completely at our mercy, for the Arabs would never look at them. they even want so far, as to throw down their arms! A volley of lies was told about the affair, trying to prevent me having the truth. known I got at the bottom of it, and have united my friends. A merchant has had a fortune in hiding, who owed Arabs 8 months ago with 3000 £ belonging to the merchant; he only asks me to pay the 3000 £!!!

Nov^r 21. I do not believe one person has died of hunger during the 8½ months we have been shut up. Foreign Allah Bey in Mudiriyeh signalled "yes" "I have 23000 Rds. but I give a lot every day" here there is a cricket, for I do not believe he gives 10 Rds without any personal knowledge. A Sentinel by the Egyptian of those at under 2000 Rds has been given, I put him on to you, to give the round, to him, and Agag "I do not come to risk a defeat, or a numerous escort, attended with a lot of wounded. (we have 60 wounded in Hospital now.) Today, year, came the news to Khartum of Hicks defeat. he left this on 3rd Sept. Greek Consul & the Greek Doctor describe the arrival of news, there, at Khartum. At night, came in "Borden" with Cotterings from White Nile. Greek Consul was in his house. Margueti French Consul came to his house, a said, "Come to my house, by the garden" he went to Margueti's House he found Hepburn Peake there. Hicks (under Hicks, Cotterings & Power & Hamilton. He was told. "Hicks is finished" the consul sent telegram Khartoum Inspile. "Hicks finished". then Inspile sent telegram that he would send up reinforcements that night. Inspile had a large party at Abdeen Palace, reports was up, that was they had us in the air. but nobody knew anything: since last Day, we and he came to London. (illegible) (illegible) "illegible" illegible.) I hear that the day before yesterday. 2 Corporals (one of the had come in from Abeh)

Nov 21. 4 Soldiers & a Clerk. all Sudan soldiers, deserted to Arab. Stories were reported to me. ~~[illegible]~~ I suspect the officers have robbed them.

Ismail Ulleh Bey of Mudiraman reports he has only 43000 Rds left. This, out of 230000 Rds, and I feel sure he tells fibs. It is easy in order to force me to relieve him, that I shall not attempt. He says he has had 25 wounded & 11 killed.

Church Parades, all armed today. Arabs fired at Bourre and at Fute, this morning.

Today I discovered a robbery of Rushdi my old clerk almost. Think there could be, no doubt. Shall turn it out, and written to cancel his big made Bey. A woman came in from Arab, she says Expedition left Mernoe for Berber. says Mahmoud Achmet will be on Monday the 24th Nov to take Mudiraman. Fort. This is disagreeable news! however I know one thing I can, and no one can do no more than trust now. What has been the painful position for me, is that there is not one person on whom I can rely. alas. then is not one person. she considers that he ought to do anything except his mature duty so how can he mention blockade. and though are entirely yet not one of my subordinates except the chief Clerk and his subordinate officers today. I had to send for them & will tell they come, perhaps an hour; it is Friday" and it is unreasonable to expect us at the office" is what they say. My patience is almost exhausted with these continuous apparently never ending trials. there is not one Dept. think I have not to superintend, or closely as I can it direct. head. the officers do command the Soldiers think the men deserted. men told me. Hassan to Ismail Arab. then Ismail Arab denies, and so told Ismail Arab. then Ismail Arab denies, and so it goes on, tissues of lies, and they no more can about being found out, than not. It is indeed hopeless work. and yet, truly, they have been treated most handsomely in every

Nov. 2. nearly every order except those it is for their interest, has to be repeated twice and even three times, I may truly say I am weary of my life, day and night, night and day, it is one continual worry. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
one breastwork at Tuti, are bothering the Arabs near Omdurman. A soldier came in from Arabs, he had nothing to say, of importance. We have got a breastwork also, towards Goba, on the Isle of Tuti; I have given them independent troops. 15000 of Biscuit; I sincerely hope, I may never be besieged, with such a garrison, another time. A slave came in and reports "that Berber has been taken, by troops from" "Kassala, and that the Arab Govr of Berber arrived" "at Mahdi's two days ago" (perhaps the caravan we saw yesterday) also "that the four steamers have gone" "to Berber, one being disabled, or aground, or sunk!" If this is the case, it is that brute Nutzi Bey, or Pasha, who (keeping himself well under cover) has disobeyed my repeated orders as to "not taking the steamers up to the" "guns, but to stay quietly at Shendy & wait the" "Expedition" the last order I sent him, was that I" "would cancel his appt as Pasha, if he dared to" "disobey me again." but of what avail is that?

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Nov^r 22. Slight firing at Bourre & Sobat this morng. A soldier deserted to Arab-last night, with Rifle. A ~~Bash~~ Soldier, and a slave came in from Arab. It appears more Shaggyeh ~~assassinations~~ deserted to Arab than the first I mentioned, but it seems perfectly impossible to find out the truth, or even the number of Shaggyeh there are. I am terribly anxious for the fort, at Omdurman, and am trying to devise some means of occupying the Arab and diverting their attention elsewhere. Omdurman Fort signals they are all right, they had another mean wounded up to date, we have had, passing through Hospital, 242 wounded. we have had some 1800 to 1900 killed. (between 17 March. & 22. Nov^r.)

This is the present state of affairs the Arab camps are about 5 Miles from the city.
Camp C is on river
" A is 1 Mile from River
Camp B & E are 3 to 4 Miles from River.
Of these numbers perhaps there are 3000 to 4000 fighting men, and 600 horsemen to 800 Horsemen, in the whole lot.

There is nothing like being precise in these days, and it saves a deal of talking, if one knows a man's views beforehand. If ~~some~~ the expedition comes here, before the place falls, (which is doubtful,) and if the instructions are to evacuate the place at once, & leave Kordofan & Senaar &c. I will resign, and have nothing more to do with the fate of the place, or of the Soudan; and this I have a perfect right to do. and no one, not even the Indian troops & people could say one word. It will depend on circumstances, how I shall act in re. my commission in N. Al. S. (which I do not hold too fast to, seeing any future employment would not be accepted, even if in the very improbable case of it being offered.) but I consider in the very improbable case of its being offered.) but I consider that every officer has a right to resign, and if he resigns, he is

Nov 22, is no longer subject to Abdullah's orders and is free to go where, & where he likes. It may be argued "I even named first Juli & his order" to carry out the evacuation of Sudan, & that I am bound" "to carry that out. Such is quite correct, but I am" "named for evacuation of Sudan" (apt Such I have nothing to say,) not to run away from Khartoum, & leave the garrisons elsewhere, to their fate. If it is positively determined on, not to look after the garrisons, and not to establish some sort of provincial Govt in Sudan, then the course to pursue, is to name a Govt in my place, on day of his arrival, and carry out, with that Govt, that policy. Such I have already said, in one of my first Despatches, (putting all other considerations aside.) Personally, looking at the matter from a very selfish point of view, (and seeing I have done my best to prevent this policy being followed, and am important to those about it.) I should be much relieved at this denouement, for I should be in Suakin on 20 January, if possible, I have given Power of Attorney not to the firm (I suspect Hilly will be stolen) and I shall sell two more 90000 lbs to the Turkish people. I am determined, if Turk does fall, the Mahdi will find precious little to eat in it. Two soldiers got hold of the head of a shell washed up, and having nothing better to do, they set to work to open it. it burst, & has nearly killed me. and wounded the other. the effects of curiosity!

Nov 23. A soldier came in at North Fort from Shendy, says Expedition has captured Berber, and are advancing on this. and Arabs want to attack Fort Adam.

Arabs, this morning, fired from Gebel on Mountain of Juli.

Nov. 23. The soldier says my noble friend Mutzi Pasha is kept safely at Berber. all the steamers at Shendy, a news agent in any way. The Arabs are (so says this soldier) collecting at Shelfyeh to receive the Expedition. but I do not think it.

Three women came in last night from Arabs to North fort, they had been captured during the raid, Arabs made on the Shaggyeh, some days ago.

The soldier who came in, brought 2 Rifles & two belts of cartridges.

Ferratch Ullah Bey of Mudcraman fort reports he is all right. by signal.

A Report has come in, that the Expedition had arrived at Metemma, and had encountered the Arabs there: that a steamer had been sent up to inform me, but that the Arab guns had fired on it returning, they say that this report has come into the town, by men who have friends in Khartoum; some of the Arab wounded. this news is 5 days old. Very few Arabs in the camp on North of Palace, Shaggyeh came and asked me to let them go up & pillage Arab Camp: no doubt one or two in it, they knew well, that I knew, if I did not give them leave, they would not go. so it was a safe volunteer on their part. A caravan of Arabs came from North to Arab Camp. this morning. Arabs have only one gun on the Mudcraman side now. I expect the rest are taken down after the Expedition. We have only 541 Rds of Krupp Ammn left. for our two Krupps. I sent down to Magungo, a practised on Arab House there from us. 1600 range. in just three shells into it. upon which Arabs left. I am still apprehensive of an attack on Mudcraman fort and have the Somalia steamer ready. I have sent down 30 Rockets (sky) to Shaggyeh, to be fired off. then will better the Arabs, who will not know what to make of it. and will think we have got some very important news. I know of two happened, when I was undertaking an assault, I should postpone, before I made that assault. after the funerals.

6. Alle

Nov 24 Arabs came down, and fired on Sola of Inte, from Gobo. Inteh Ullah Rep of Omdurman reports all well, another man had been wounded, and one had died. A slave came in from Arabs on South Fort. He says there is no news of the Expedition in Kordofan a Jemmi's Camp. 12. 15 P.M. Arabs near Omdurman Fort are retiring from their position near small steamer & burning the straw huts, one man are firing on them, as they do not reply, the Messenger steamer has slipped down towards deeper water, of herself. I am sending down the "Ismailia" to reconnoitre. Arabs have not fired from their guns at Omdurman today. It appears the "Messenger" has sunk, so that may be the reason of the Arabs retiring. I expect Mahdi wanted his troops, for one preceding the steamer "Messenger" and so he sent off men last night to sink her a shot in the hinder of the retreat. It is somewhat a relief to me, for I expect it shows, the Arabs will not make an assault on Omdurman Fort. perhaps our fireworks last night all along the lines, made Mahdi think I had some great news. Such he did not know of, so fired from his places, to cheer up, at me concerted moment. They report from Khartoum that the Arabs retired before "Messenger" sank, but I expect that is a fib, & that they did not know till she sank. It is apt all reason with a falling river, a fixed on a bank as she was she sank unnoticed, the fact is, I expect, that the main part to retake her, was relief, and Arabs trying to capture her, drew her into deep water when the water was not her shot hole. 1.30 P.M.

Nov. 24 the "Ismailia" went down to the junction of the Blue & White Niles, and the Arab guns opened on her, so she has come back. I have sent down to make enquiries on the point. Whether Arabs retired before or after the sinking of "Hafeenagh"; Arabs fired 5 rounds at the "Ismailia." Arabs came back to their barricade. When the "Ismailia" appeared but on her return, they also went back. If "Hafeenagh" had not had a shot hole in her, the Arabs could have captured her. but as I had taken her steam order off. they could not have used her. We may be able to raise her. if she has sunk evenly. The steamer has sunk evenly, for her funnel is above water.

I expect the Arabs just a slave boy, to turn the handle of Nordenfeldt, for it keeps on grunting all day, at intervals of half second. but does no harm.

Nov. 25. Arabs came to Gobat this morning & fired on Isle of Tuti. for half an hour. It is quite true, Arabs did sink at the "Hafeenagh" and cause her to sink, and on her sinking, they retired; the enemies in our lines, being all asleep, as I had supposed. Turkish Wekil Bey of Omdurman Fort reports all well, he has another death among his wounded. I have promised him 30 Days pay for every day, he & his men are shot-up. 1.15 Pm. Steamers in sight. The Doctor saw them first. The steamers are firing. only one steamer in sight. ~~The Arabs & Steamer have gone from Gaffer to Omdurman & Halfayeh or Omdurman Bazaar, before back of Abbadieh.~~ The Arabs had 3 guns at Halfayeh opposite the coming in steamer. 2.30 Pm. I have sent down the "Ismailia" to cover the in coming steamer. Arabs are grunting with their ~~Nordenfeldt~~ Nordenfeldt. a firing from their guns. Maxim is playing on them, with the Krupp, & late with their mountain gun. 2.45 Pm. for the last half hour. the firing on part of Arabs on the advancing steamer, went furious with guns & musketry, in replying. I am grateful to say, that, after this last

102490

Nov 25. reception. she has got in safe to Mogin
If any officer of Expedition is on board, he will know that it is to be, in a penny boat, under Cannon fire. the "Borden" has come in she has ~~7~~ wounded. there are no Arabs at Shebdeh or (consequently) guns. the wounded are from the shells, fired by Arabs, from Hellyeh. Expedition any price. Ambukol. (Sirdar is living!) the Arabs had 4 guns at Hellyeh. one woman was killed in "Borden"

Appendix X The letters received by Borden ~~were opened~~ X, are of no great import. for they do not tell me the route, Expedition will take, and. I have received a later post than of 14 oct.
Two men are wanted at Mogin today,
According to the report of two men who came from Dongola, it is not certain, Abbas is captured.

Appendix Y' pasted opposite Page 402 Jenelon telegraph Sirdar can't decypher I imagine Col Sirdar has the key. it being probably X. O. Cypher.
Norfolk, by a telegram, cancels his Leave as Sirdar goes up to Dongola. Appendix Y. Page 335.

Aff. Y. pag 335. Sirdar I have ~~been~~ up: but embark. (this telegram, I received today.)
A telegram to the Times, from Norfolk, says "Barring" is coming up with Lord W. [illegible]

402 & 403

Nov. 26. Abu Hamed came to Gober, and fired two shots and retired. Arabs fired 3 Rounds at Fort Ombarem. Fort reports all right. Nuttye Pasha reports that the enemy at Berber has been taken up to the Mahdi. He sends up four wounded. says Expedition is advancing in three parties, one to Berber from Ambukol one Shendeh to Metemma one from Ambukol to Shabaluka, this latter was written 6 days ago. A caravan came across from the North, to Mahdi's camp today. the Arabs at Metemma have crossed to Shendy & gone into interior. Four Jellaheen soldiers deserted from Nuttye Pasha, & went to Arabs. I expect through his ill treatment of them.

There are three long telegrams in cypher, Baird I cannot make out, posted on other side.

I had a letter saying Fort had given Kitchener carte blanche to pay Mahdi, up to £2000 for me. but adds Gordon the writer "does not think I could accept such a proposition", in which he is quite right. written round the Mahdi.

I like Baker's description of Kitchener

The man who I have always placed any hopes upon, Major Kitchener R.E., who is one of the few very superior British officers with a cool and good head, and a hard constitution combined with untiring energy — has now pushed up to Dongola and has proved that the Mudir is dependable — The latter has given him a letter received from me asking about me information and stating that you have 6000 troops at Khartoum and that Senaar is still occupied by the Govt forces.

There was a slight laugh when Kitchener landed, Being now bumping his way up here for us to read Dongola telegrams. a regular Nemesis.

I am sure, we are deprived of a treat, in not being able to decypher the long telegrams on preceding page. It also is delicious, to find not one civil word from any official personage, except Kitchener. it relieves one immensely. (also I cannot except Dongola. She is immensely disputed, very civil, & polite.) Evidently I am in disgrace. how painful!

Nov. 26. According to the news she came yesterday the Abbas struck a rock, and then her boats surrendered to Arabs. I have no doubt but that Arabs have captured steamer Abbas. For the Arab Chief of Berber sent to Capain el Mongar, an inspection of the coal I sent there I see up here before a Steamer I sent down by steamer. now it is impossible, he could have known this, unless he had prefection of coal. for I do not think steamer knows it. Arabs at Metammeh have the slave boy grinding away at their wood infidels, I have sent one of our Krank Nitrailleuses down to grind on them. If Baring does bump his way up here as British Commissioner, I shall consider he has expiated his faults & shall forgive him. We seldom realize our position; in ten or twelve years time. Baring. Lord W. myself. Evelyn Wood will have no teeth, will be deaf, some of us with stone in bladder, will be quite passé-ed- no one will come & consult us, new Barings, new Lord W. will have arisen. We will call in "Blocks" & waddlers," Oh! for goodness sake, come away, then" "is that dreadful bore coming, if once he gets along" "side you. you are in for half an hour" will be the remark of some young Captain of present time, on seeing you enter the club. then is my humble hope for us, each one, think we are immortal; that from old General " Sir, for years, resplendent in the Hotel, at end of — street close to club; she ever visited him? Better a ball in the brain, than to flicker out unheeded, like he did.

July 1883.

16. Williams, of Kars, General Sir William Fenwick, aged 82.

Nov. 26. The Kh. Khedive will shortly run Barings ride to Sowdan ~~Darfur Kordofan~~ I can fancy him trembling his little eyes over it. He came up in his yacht, to Dongola, with his uncle Ismail Pasha, + slim yacht. Hakim (the rightful heir to the Khedivate after Ismail,) also, on his way to Europe for 3 months. Has he to land back, returned home, from Said Pasha's on the Riviera. If Ismail & Khedive could only get Mallet, Vivian, Calvin to go other side, I think he would forgive his deposition. I have published the telegram of Scopik to me, & to the Notables (note that, in this telegram, Scopik (a year late it is true) says he is sorry for Nubar's arrest + destruction!) saying he will retain the Sudan. Whoever comes up here, had better appoint Major Kitchener. Gov. Gen., for it is certain, after what has passed, I am impossible. (What a compliment)

Nov. 27. Arabs fired with Artillery + muskets on Bowrie for about an hour this morning. they fired 3 shell at our armoured Fort. who signals. it is all right. Two slaves came in today. they say Arabs are wanting in Ammn. I do not credit it, as they say they fire it away. they say Mahdi has had a revelation that the Turks will keep the country for 8 years, that he is to go back. + come again at end of the 8 yrs. The little captured steamer Mahmoud still came down near Giraffe last night + then went back.

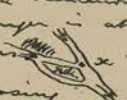
If Kitchener could take the place, he would be the best man to put in as Gov. Gen. but I must confess, I think, with our Govt. constituted as it is, that, for Nubar to take the charge of these countries, would be a very serious burden, and that the only solution would be the Sultan taking them over, with a subsidy. and the post of Arabian + Mesopotamia. Judging from Scopik's telegram to me, it would seem that the Porte really has fallen straight for he speaks of the retention of Kassala.

Nov. 27. Our Govt has two courses to pursue. one to appoint Kitchener or some other, Govt Genl. and to suspend to give him 500000 £ a year for two years. for he will never get any taxes, with standing. If for two years also our Govt must be prepared to renew the stores, coal &c. and give 6000 extra soldiers & London. Second, to give the country over to bolton with 2 millions & the Porte. To me, the last is the best & speediest course, to pursue, it ends shells. for even if any responsibility. If the first course was taken, to my mind, a sure guarantee would be for its success. to make up with France in re Egypt. there is one other course, an intermediate one. viz. Sebehr with 200000 £ a year & replenished Khyves about 40 females congregated under windows, yelling, for food. it delights me to think of the treat, Baring will have. when (illegible) he gets here (if ever he does) I do not think there are 500 Arabs in the camp on North side, and no horsemen though their steamers have extended further than they did in the first blockade. The Sebehr steamer was launched today. With respect to the force of Arabs on North side, it may end, "if so few, they will attack them" but supposing I was wrong. & they were more than I think, a defeat would cause the fall of town. therefore I will not risk it.

Nov. 27. The Ulemas & Notables got a telegram from Darfish excusing himself for his indolence, they came to-day, & wished to send an answer. Said I agreed to. They did this of their free will, and are pumped much by me. It will make Darfish hop. Of the Ulemas, the cousin, two (the Shaikh el Islam & Kadi) had been in prison by me.

Nov. 28. Fort Rudaraman all right, another of his wives has died. Two soldiers came in from Abu Ahmed.

Small Church Parades, that on Blue Nile gathers larger than usual: We have today in store 174400 okes of Biscuit, and 1165 ardebs of Dhoora, which is not bad after 261 days blockade. A slave has come in at North Fort, and says Abu Ahmed is expecting 4 steamers to come up. I hope that the officer in command will clear Halfyeh. Before he proceeds on to this, for he may get a shell from the Arabs at Rudaraman, into one of his steamers, I do not like to risk the "Bordein" down by herself to give the warning. If the steamers do come up, and have not the sense to stop at Halfyeh, I shall endeavour to warn them, by a tremendous fire on Arabs at Rudaraman. The danger is at the Ras or nose, or junction of the Rivers x x.



We are protecting the Bordein by casing her steam chest with wood. The proper thing to do would be to clear Halfyeh Camp of the Arabs. Upon coming on here, you could then communicate with Khartoum by land, & avoid having to run the gauntlet of Arab guns in fleeing steamboats. A woman came in from Arabs, says yesterday evening a man came to Arab Camp on North side, & said the Expedition had captured Berber, and that four steamers were in there very here. that the Arabs sent over men to see if this was true. that it was my own soldiers She & me fighting against us.

Nov. 28. If the news that Berber is captured, the steamers will be turning up Boats (50 of which are at Berber) & will not be here for some days. 2 P.M. I think the Arabs are making an embrasure at Jebel, with the view of bombarding the Palace. I can see them with my glass: if they do this, it will not hurt us. It will take their men & guns, from off the River, & then give fire in above dangerous, to the steamers. It is rather amusing to see the personality of this Arab Battery, the range is 2200 yds. from here, but as we never hit anything on fire at, at that distance, I think I shall be safe in Palace, from Arab fire. The mountain shell will not penetrate the walls at that distance, as we know from a shell which struck North Fort, some time ago. I expect they will begin tomorrow morning, at daybreak. I have fired 8 or 10 Rds. at them, which brought them out to look, but it is quite a chance, if the Remington reaches them at the range. There was a time, when we would have been anxious for the Palace, but that has gone by. It will not be the first time, I have been fired on, by our own soldiers, for in China, two men of 31st Regt came on the heels of Taitsun, & one was killed, the other with a shell splinter was taken Prisoner. "Mr Gordon! Mr Gordon! you will not let me be killed"; "I'll run to river & shoot him" & "Put him in my boat, but Doctor attend to him" & send him to Shuqair." he was sent down to Shuqair & got 3 or 9 months imprisonment by Court Mtl for deserting & I dare say he exists at present; his name was Hargreaves. I do not know his Regimental Number.

Nov 28. Bruny to Egerton. "Alleluiuma !! at last!"
" after the most fearful sufferings, every bone in my "
" body dislocated, with three beastly camels, found her "
" in journal. From which, it appears that their Suffer, the "
" Illahi, has, at last, crowned himself, her I fear it is to". "
" late; as to the text of the journal, it is simply diplomatic "
" and (do not mention it, please) he has actually made a "
" shelah (I recall yourself up to here it) of our High Priest "
" Lord S. Excuse mine, for Sake, with the bumping of the "
" Camel, & the depravity shown by this scoffer. I am "
" more dead than alive " A Brahi Bazouk (no less)
a Bugler & two Musicians (of our humble band) deserted
to Arabs yesterday, as E..... a says it is
" incredible" that is owing to the robbing of the rations
by the officers: ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ I have spoken to Egerton about
~~[illegible]~~ I believe he will speak to the men
~~[illegible]~~ says the officers are robbing them.

Nov. 29. Omdurman Fort all right. but 3 men deserted to Arabs. Truly this life is almost insupportable. the officers have been robbing the men of their rations the storekeeper has been giving them short weight one feels utterly powerless to contend with these affairs. and unless the Expedition comes soon the Jalees will fall from the versatility of these people. They know I cannot possibly spend at their misdeeds. and chuckle over it. Arabs are coming away at their letting at Gobo.

Nov. 29 It is odd that among the disposed Egyptian 10
Fellaheen soldiers, this nothing of nations does not
take place. it is only among the officers & yet
Black troops. I Pth. I know that the soldiers, very
-loy the service, to them I know given Mr and a
Rob them !!!

I have a strong conviction, that neither Baring
or Lord W. have taken the precaution of bringing
a Firman from Dowfik Pacha, giving them
a legal status superior to mine in the
Soudan. if this conviction is the case, (and
the fiction of Dowfik being supreme Ruler
is kept up) then it is, for me, to name
the Govt Genl and I feel strongly disposed
to print off Proclamations, to be issued,
on arrival (if ever it does arrive) by Rich
I relinquish the Govt, in favor of the
officer Comg the Expedition. Of course, if
a Firman is brought, then, the situation is
different, but, if only brought a fiction is
going to be kept up. I have a perfect right
to create the Govt & to appoint Sam
-some I like, subject to the ultimate
approval of Dowfik Pacha. It may be
that the officer Comg the Expedition may
demur to his appt but his doing so, will
not absolve him of the responsibility thus
officially placed on him. if town falls.

Nov. 29. The great question "Is, any officer Civil or "
" Military of Population prejudicial to a Summon "
" of Insolvency" of not, there is not the least
doubt. that the de jure power is with me,
to name whom I like (except in the case
of a Civil or Military officer announcing to
people, that the British govt. has annexed
Egypt.) but there can be no question
of Military discipline, for such has a Foreign
Power, to do with the civil functionaries of
Insolvency, unless they usurp his (Insolvency) functions.

Two more soldiers deserted today. 8 Pks. Arabs
came down to the ruins of Village opposite & fired on
Palace. I sent the Buglers up to top of Palace, by their own acct.
killed thirteen. and eventually Arabs retired. I have got
so accustomed to the sounds of the firing, that I can
tell when the report of firing is from Arabs on hill
on Palace, or one man from hill, or South hill. also
if it is the Arabs firing on Abdin or Barracks, or one man firing a shot, from these places; according to the
direction of the smuggle of the Rifle as also the sounds.
I think I could like to be in a real siege, with no
civil population, or rather of officers to bully me.
Tonight a sortie with 50 men, could give the
Arabs, a dose, which they would not forget. but it
is no use. as one not up to it. the Buglers say
they killed 30 !!!. between them.

Nov. 30. Fort and environs all right. a slave came from
Arabs to it, last night. Arabs 10.30 Sh. fired two
fired 2 Rounds, from their ("personality") battery at Fort
but the projectiles did not reach the Palaces.

the shells fired by Arabs did

Nov. 30. I hear that one fell behind the Palace. They went the 3 men, and 2 more, and then the woman, her friend [illegible] of the guns, fell down: they are sure I think they had to get it out the gun. I was digging away: gage requires repair. In the afternoon the gun carriage 11.15 Abb. Arabs either have on a 3rd hill, I think, in the house, I think had another gun, but I don't know not damaged in the fell down, or that they have just fired another fall of house. In 3rd: 2 more. Arabs fired 3 more rounds at North Fort. Shell burst in air, and then rounds at N. Fort. Arabs gone to dinner. Another man deserted to Arabs. he had previously deserted from the Arabs to us. Two of the Band, reported to have deserted to Arabs, have been found in the town. The Arabs at Soba (I do not think number more than 40!!!) fired three more rounds from their gun, this evening. I feel strongly disposed to go out myself with 100 men (not 40!) and attack them tomorrow, it is simply redundancy the apathy, that is shown. These 40 men Arabs in the outside of their number are, at least, 4 miles, from any assistance. the plain is so flat a man that this is a certainty.

Dec. 1. During night, Arabs fired on town with their guns [illegible] at Day break, they fired from their guns on Palace & North Fort. and on Mogrim & Bourré a caravan of 17 Camels, came to Abadi, from Dongola today, The "Nordenfeldt" at one Caravan has been silent for last three days. One Caravan Fort all right. 10.40 Abb. Arabs just fired on shots Shell struck outer in front of Palace. they fired another Shell burst in air.

Dec. 1. 11 AM. I have sent down "Bordeen" to entice Arabs to wash their shirts. Think they are dying.

Towfik's telegram to me, was today more fully explained, and I gather that he says Lord W. & Sir E. B. are coming up, and that they will settle the question of Sudan, I have replied that may be very convenient for him (Towfik) but it does not meet the case, unless these two Officials have a Firman from him, giving them authority (more than (the two Officials) will ever have, for it virtually makes them Towfik's subordinates) It is implied in the telegram, that I am to arrange with these two Officials, as to Sudan. a delightful arrangement for Towfik, but not one, so delightful for me. so I have answered him, it is for him (Towfik) to arrange with these two Officials & to send his arrangement in form of a Firman here. It is certain, that no legal authority exists in Sudan, except it is held from Towfik, and unless these two Officials have authority from Towfik, they have no authority in Sudan; now if they hold authority from Towfik, they are under Towfik's orders. The "Fiction" will not hold good in Sudan. Though I am fearfully ill disciplined for the last few days, I cannot help laughing at the fearful mess, we are in. Towfik is as sharp as his father. & wants to fearfully saddle me

Dear L. with the controversy, reserving to him-
-self, the right of criticism. But I do
not feel inclined to be thus saddled, and
I shall perhaps appoint Baring, Govt Genl
subject to approval of Dufferin, and shall
tell B. may say, he will not take it, but
he will have no choice, for, if he does not,
he throws away any legal status, he possesses
de, or his part, may cause war on me. he
that will be his look out. My object, of course,
is to make tracks, if I can do so (without hurting
our country, or being the cause of danger in the
smallest degree to our troops,) and to leave the
onus on Baring & the Ministry. I do not
feel so kindly to Dufferin, as to fight his
battle up here, as he evidently aims at,
neither do I feel inclined to compromise
myself, by aiding Baring. I have said the
only possible solution is the Sultan, but the
subsidy he asks it may. The fact is that the
Egyptian army now comes up here, as allies of
Dowfik, (unless its Govt says it comes up as
independent) and as allies of Dowfik, it is in
all reason, subject, as far as civil affairs are
concerned, under Dowfik. its officers can issue
no decrees, except in his name. Some thing, I said
concern illiberal questions. A nice accommodating
Govt Genl could make this affair, with not

Dear L. continual friction. I will not. For I am too deeply involved with the people, but I could (like a rat) to leave the house, before it falls. It is the best thing, is to hint to me. "Make Kitchener feel that" "subject to" "approval of Cromer." Then K. could do all you want, and, in a legal way: and you could be happy. Unless you have a superior person to mind, you cannot make K. feel (even if you had 10 000 000 troops,) only you declare yourself, the Rulers of this land. Think you will not do, because of the 90 millions of debt on Egypt. 5 P.M. Arabs fired two more shells at Palace, so I sent the three Buglers on roof, to practice at them. They say, they killed 15. I would much like to know contents of Lord W.'s telegram to me, also the telegrams on page 403 Appendix I. from Arabi & Baring, but I mean shall have that pleasure, for I do not expect either the journal will ever be given back, or if it is, that I shall be let the Egyptian Books to slaughter them. Arabs fired two rounds at Palace this evening, one fell in centre in front of Palace, one fell in garden. Two shells fired by Arabs from Bouleq today fell close to Hospital.

Dec 1. To my mind, this is the idea of Wolseley Expedition comes up to Dongola 416
Expedition comes up to Dongola after British subjects nominally, but, in reality, to settle future fate of Soudan, under the pretence that Turkish garrison. I copied telegram to me, "That the British" "officials will settle future status of Soudan" "write me. sub rosa" now, I cannot say I may be wrong, but my idea is that the British officials will propose the keeping of Samoan Customs, Borders a Dongola, the non interference with Mahdi, the cession of Kassala to King John, the leasing to them forts, the Equator Provinces &c. and that the British officials suggest, people will agree to; but then comes the question, as I consider that proposal is unacceptable (inasmuch, as keep on Mahdi is dangerous, no peace is possible) I will not accept it, and will leave it as N. as my, and Turkish representative, to carry the proposition out ("Après moi, le Deluge.") No one can blame me, for this. For I should be a scoundrel, if I accepted any proposition that would eventually give trouble to our country.

Dec. 2 arabs fired four shells at Palace at day break, with no effect. 9. Am. they have fired 4 more one burst close to my room, a little high. I have sent 2 guns over Palace to reply to them. Report in town says, Wahed a Gomus men are passing over from right bank White Nile to Mahdi's camp on left bank. Onde Gomus has reports all right. 11.45 A.M. Arabs opened fire again on Palace. we are answering. Arabs have now two guns firing on us. There is a report that Arabs of Mahdi are going north (on left bank of White Nile) Noon. we have silenced our friends opposite, having concentrated a heavy fire on them. I nearly lost my eyes this morning, firing on Arab. the base of the brass cartridge blew out, and sent the fire into my face. there is a fault in the Remington, the metal case or expansion of cartridge must not be used too often.

Some people might like them back at once. if there is to be any quiet in Soudan, I wonder how our Govt will be able to allow this, to be done, under their nose, for however necessary it was to put them down, before future peace of Soudan, they can be merely called Rebels. for they may say they were forced into rebellion by the inability of Govt aiding them, after they had heard that the Soudan was abandoned. 3 P.M. Another battle! with Arabs at Gorba. Ours however have no guns. firing terrific. 3.15 P.M. Battle is over, & we have won. Arabs silent. 3.30 P.M. Arab begins it again, by firing three guns. 3.38 P.M. Battle over, an Arab (or more likely one of my men) is standing up, throwing dust in the air (like in Shimei dancing before "the Lord" [illegible] mean") the Arab must have used up a lot of dust. for they kept up a good fire, though when their bullets went, no one could see, the Palace & West

2 Samuel XVI. 13

Dec 2. North Fort a Mudirieh being high, our bullets reach them, but theirs do not appear to reach the River. They have a regular Casemate for two guns. one mounted on Palace on a North Fort. they took two days to make it. quite a creditable piece of work. with a screen wall in front. In Crimea, it was supposed a round and mean to bob and we used to try to avoid it. Hayward used to say "it" "is all well enough for you. but I am a family" "man" and he used to bob at every report. For my part, I think, judicious bobbing is not a fault. for I remember, seeing on two occasions, shells like this "●" before my eyes. Shd certainly, but I just bobbed, and have taken off my head (and a good riddance "too"! J. O. would say) I make them remarks, with reference to the shots we fire. you can see them with the through aim directly at this wing of Palace and fire, and then one hears a thud in the water, I have got quite accustomed to them now. The Mitrailleuse (a fortin) mowed them out of their cover, this evening: we hear it on the Mudirieh. The Palace roof is thus a shell striking x would bring down the roof, so when the shots fire, one does not feel comfortable as one hears the shell, sighing through the air, till one hears it fall, it is at least 40 ft in height, but with only two stories The Pacha, Ibn Ismail (Abbas Pacha) & Ismail, pictured Ibn, from the old Khedive, taking from which he had no right to, the old K. did not see it, and Ismail Pacha Ayoub. Ibn was a fine man here, split on him, & was tried here & they say, was poisoned. Ismail Ayoub getting his place. Ismail Ayoub was sent up, because he did not take one of the coat off wives of the old Khedive (Ibn he was found to marry) with proper respect as they up a heavy intrigue & he was exiled

Dec 2. He (Ismail Ayub) was a great scamp. Nothing was the cause of his exile. He belonged to Kandistan, & was originally a bugler in Lord Pauline's band. and I used to tell him, he was as much a foreigner in this land, as I was. He was a good musician & had learnt French and German. he is now dead, whilst I am here. I think that he was the best administrator, the Sudan ever had. He was the Minister of Interior, during Lord Dufferin time, & wrote the famous dispatch about the inutility of using the Kourbatch. Ha! He was famous for his wit, up here. & he, with Chirol a Scotch record with laughter on the affair, for Lord D. in the general way, reported it to Lord Granville &c, I dare, laughed heartily over it, with her Sandersons. Poor Ismail Ayub. he was a most agreeable scoundrel, but he came to grief at Cairo in 1883. as Minister of Finance

he was dead, assassinated with his colleagues. The bugler "Idris" (i.e. the Dervish) telegraphed his confreres, that he had killed 20 arabs today !!

Dec. 3. This morning, Arabs fired 8 Rounds at us, and we replied. one of our shells struck their casemate. Numbers of Arabs left Mahdi's camp for the north. Arabs fired 9 rounds into town at night. From the South Tower: one shell into Gordon's Palace, then from the South Tower: a shell from Arabs at Soba. fell in the garden, so it will be seen the attention which is being paid to the Palace

Dec 3.2d Twenty shells fell in town yesterday; £420 were did any harm.

I think this is the programme, and though it is of doubtful morality, perhaps it is the shortest route out of a muss. "British Expedition comes up to" "relieve British subjects in distress, nothing else" "it finds one of its subjects, acting as Ruler. it" "takes him away, and he, on going away, appoints" "Slatin, Ruler, subject to approval of Khedive. Slatin" "having been allowed to come up to Khartoum, as" "a private individual, to look after his family."

Now who can say anything to the British Govt? it has had nothing to do, with the appt of Slatin. or with the Govt of Khedive, it came up to relieve its subjects, and "Gordon is entirely res-" "-ponsible for the appt of Slatin" "even Khedive" "is not responsible, for S. did it, on his own" "responsibility." then will be a splendid dodge. it finds clears the Govt of any blame. it puts the blame on me, and, in the storm, that is caused, ~~the~~ I shall have been so effectually blackened, that every one will forget the (well! we will not say it, in direct words ("commit the" "murder") we will call the) Delay. in fact, I expect the public will rather blame the Govt for having sent any expedition at all for such a style of British subject. the Govt will chuckle over it all and will preserve the friction that they have maybe to do with the Soudan, or Egypt.

Dec 3. The opposition will be perfectly valid 421
at seeing the Ministry get out of the mess, with
such an one may say really credit, which Suez S. S
and Europe at large will amply show their view of
wealth in me. Joseph & his Pachas will wring
their hands openly over such an act. Baring will
get such kudos! ~~Hyperboreanisms~~ for my part I
shall get out of any of those wretched humours. For the
Ministry will be only too glad to say "we could not"
"you know, compare any humours on him, after such"
"very Dissatisfactory evidence" knowing well enough I
could not take them, if offered, and as I am not
going to England again & shall not see the Papers, I
shall not much mind the abuse. I think it is a
splendid programme. Schuler must be given either
£200 000. or £300 000 a year for two years, replenished stores
and stores of all sorts, all the Expedition's boats &
steamers &c. &c. and must be aided for two months
in small expeditions, besides the £ or £ 300 000 for 2 yrs
he must have 500 000 in cash, 150000 to 200000 £.
I must clear, in dispatch out of the country, to
prevent any appearance of any connivance on part
of Baring. in this arrangement. Should he still
a right to officially displore. I do not think
Schuler will care for the Equator Province, he will
agree to give that up. he will agree to uphold the
Treaty of 1877. Slave Convention, and keep on his Dues
so. As for Bahr Ghazelle. I expect Slatin has it
& if so, his Joseph will move up there. Shew Schuler
by his political, receptures obliged.

Dec 3. When a Journal runs, there will be. 422

I know one man She will write. "Better, my dear"
"Gordon, for better! to have died, than have" very "
" for deserted from the right track", "nothing, no"
" nothing can explain it away". "A happy Xmas"
" to you, "Sanderson", "this news from the Soudan is"
" very satisfactory, I call it a great triumph. In it"
" not only delivers us out of a Dilemma, but it"
" effectually settles our friends, and silences any"
" thing, be may say, as to the Delay." Any
Military operations undertaken after proclamation of
State, will be put down." as measures necessary
" to be undertaken, to secure retreat unmolested, of"
" expeditionary Force" 8 Pm. Artillery duel going on
between our two guns, and the Arab gun. our practice
is very bad. The shells, the Arab fire from their
Krupp reach the Palace garden. but the report of
their gun is not to be heard. The Arab shells
firing Gatling
fall just about 200 yds short of Palace, but in
its line. There is just the second of suspense
(after seeing them fire) and while one hears
the soft sighing of their shells coming nearer
& nearer, till they strike. 7 Pm. another battle (the
third today) Arabs came down to River and fired
on Palace, we could not stand that. 7.10 Pm. Battle
over. We are as we were, minus some cartridges. 7.20
Pm. battle began again, bugles played "Salaam"
"Effendina". Arabs coming down. 8 Pm. Arabs are firing
from South, Krupps on Palace, they are at least
4000 yds distant. we hear the shells burst. but not
report of their guns. they reached the River close to Palace

Dec. 4. Omdurman Fort all right, 423
they had a man wounded yesterday. There was a small battle at Berri this morning. Arabs at Goba are quiet, after their exertions of yesterday. Firing was heard (on N.W.) towards Shabolka last night. report in town says steamers are near there.

Should the Sebakh arrangement be accepted, then comes the question of the Military action during two months, at end of which time the Expedition may have ceased to exist by bank.

The Driving away of the Arabs from the Dems at N. of Palace will be immediate on the arrival of troops. the Arabs will then hold on to El a fonn & to Jiraffe. they will vacate the vicinity of Omdurman Fort. 1000 men will deal with El a fonn & Jiraffe supported by one Egy reg. Just Jiraffe then El a fonn. but at same time as these latter place, the retreat of Arabs ought to be cut off at Gitana Jonn Kindjon, by the steamers and another 1000 men. the Mahdi will return to Schakk, & the town will be free, & all the troops Defending the lines will be available. then comes the question of going inland & attacking the family of Sheik of Obeyed's son, 2½ hours inland

Dec 4. a clear day, & cloudless, & attacking Mohammedanism. I think shall be obliged to finish, will give in, as soon as shall see Devick Jones Esq a Jones (an affair of an hour. Dr.) I tried to entice Arabs at Zeta, into a fight, but they would not be drawn. & only replied by two shell. Shell fell in river. We played on them, with the Mitrailleuse and made them move their guns, and then they fired two more shell. one shell fell near Palace in river. With a good Mitrailleuse, and a sharp sportsman, with Telescopic sights, no gunboat could be saved with impunity at 2000 yds range. & at could be saved again artillery fire. for, if they opened them in plenty of time to dodge under cover after seeing the flash the shell arrives. The Band principally of small boys, (the men being in time) about in front of Palace to play (they always come in one of their Sabbath. the Friday) Arabs heard them, & fired a volley at them, they furiously threw down their instruments, and flew to arms, & a regular fusillade went on for some moments. the other places supporting the fire. The Buglers are buglers now. "Come to us". "Come to us". to the Arabs. (The Egyptian first hear the French calls, & can converse by bugle. I do not think in here) last night a Renegade Dervish bugler in Arab Ranks, replied "Come to us". "Come to us". [illegible]

Dec 6. Small Church parades. 3 Caravans of some size came in from North to Mohamet Ahmeds Camp. this morning. 2 Deserters came in from Arabs. Left at Ondurman all right. In store 737 ardebs Dhoura! 12/300 ohm Biscuit!

Decr 5. We are going to make an attempt to relieve Omdurman Fort. (Really things are looking very black.) The men Abu came in, say Mahdi is very short of ammunition. Arabs fired 3 shells at Palace this afternoon. Shell fell in River. A soldier deserted today to Arabs. 5 Pm. Arabs fired 2 shells at Palace. Shell fell in water. (If they only knew! that; if they sank the trail, they would track in up [illegible] their line is quite correct.) ~~[illegible]~~ 6.30 Pm. since 3 Pm. we have been firing on them, and they on us. only wasting ammn. for though our bullets reach them, few of theirs reach us, according to the rules, Abu came in from Arabs. It is the 3rd Detachment of Mahdi's, he encamped opposite Palace. they do not number more than 100. and are principally our Sudan soldiers. I have almost given up all idea of saving the town, it is a last resource, this attempt we make ~~[illegible]~~ to send a message to Omdurman Fort. ~~[illegible]~~

Decr 6. (Certainly every fortified place ought to be provided with a hundred good Lebel rifles.) The steamers went down and fired on Arabs at Omdurman. We have 150£ in cash in the treasury. In affair today we had 3 killed and 36 wounded in steamers, and Fratel Ullah Beg reports he had 5 wounded in Omdurman Fort. Arabs came down in good force, and must have lost.

Dec 6. I have given up all idea of landing at Mudaraman. we have not the force to do it. The Arabs fired 45 Rounds from their guns at Mogrein & steamers. We had 2 men wounded at Mogrein, and one killed. This is most distressing to have these poor fellows wounded and killed,

: tomorrow, it will be 270 Days = 9 months, that we have had no continuous rest, and anxiety. The Arabs say at Mogrein say at least 300 or 400 Arabs were killed and wounded, in todays engagement. The "Lomaikie" was struck by 4, and "Bridson" by 2 shells, but not in vital parts. I visited the steamers, and had meeting of Lieut. at hearing the complaint of the men as to rotten of their rations by the officers

Dec 7. The 270th day of our imprisonment, of our waiting for the decision of Mr Gladstone's ~~address~~ Ministry Arabs fired from their gun at Forts 8 shells, one of which fell in town, but did no harm. Mudaraman reports "All all right, one more man wounded there A great force of Arabs stayed down near Mudaraman last night, & left at dawn. The Cork Turkey has killed one of his companions, reason not known. (supposed to be correspondence with Mahdi, or some harem infidelity.) Report in town, that Mahdi surrendered sans conditions. I hope so. ~~[illegible]~~ "[illegible]) We are going to send the steamers down again, to attack Arabs at Mudaraman. at noon. tomorrow. Arabs fired 9 shell at Mogrein, & began again their practice on Palace, firing 5 shell, one of which came close to roof of Palace

Dec^r 7. A soldier escaped from Berb. & came in. says Expeditionary force has captured Berber. Two soldiers deserted to Berber today! Arabs at Jebra fired 3 shells this evening at Palace. 2 fell close to it. 1 fell in water. One shell from Berber at Burre fell in Hospital. one of the shells of Berber this evening struck the building near Palace, and stuck in the wall. about 9 ft from ground. A man came in from Berber who says the Expedy Force is approaching. I saw a body of horsemen going North today from Khartoum. In the "Ismailia" were 80 bullet holes, in the water line of her hull: in the "Bordein", there were 75 bullet-holes ditto, in the last engagement!!! these holes were stopped by screws, made for purpose. As for the bullet marks elsewhere, they are not to be counted.

[illegible]

My belief is that this Mahdi business will be the end of slavery in Soudan. the Berber has invariably put their slaves in the front, & armed them, & their slaves have seen that they were plucky, while their masters shirked, & it is likely that these slaves will not yield obedience to their masters as heretofore?

Dec^r 8. Arabs this morning fired 12 rounds from guns at Burre, and five rounds at North Fort and Palace

Oct. 8. Two men came in from Arabs, they say no Arabs have gone down towards Berber, that report in Arab camp was that Berber was captured, this report was 4 days old. 10 Abb. steamers are going down to attack. Mudiraman sent reports "all right." 10.30 Abb. the steamers are engaged, the Arabs have two mastless wash buttries, with regular embrasures. quite à l'Europe. (Query, Slatin Bey's design) Though we have punctured the steam chest of steamers, we cannot help, being very anxious. Arabs at Goba, silent. Another soldier from Arab camp in, and states same report of advance of Expeditionary Force, they are coming, by land. Every time I hear the guns fire I have a twitch of heart. I grow very anxious, for my flimsy steamers. 11.30 Abb. The battle is over and my funny boats are safe, thank God (not in ends only but from my heart.) We had two wounded on board "Bordeen". none on board "Somalia" We are meditating an attack with 500 men, on the 50 Arabs who with their guns, are at Goba. "Bordeen" was struck by 4 shells "Somalia" by 2 shells, one of which destroyed a cabin. they had not much musketry fire, but Arabs fired a great number of rounds, they had 5 guns playing on steamers. At noon. Arabs fired 5 shells at Bourré, In the evening, they fired 3 shells, aged Palace from Goba which fell in town Had we not caused the steam chest of "Somalia" with wood, she would have had her boiler blown up, by one of the shells. The Arab Rifle Fire of Goba is completely innocuous, we do not even hear their bullets, yet our bullets reach

Dear S. reach them, for they cannot stay in the open, & we can see the dust, the bullets throw up. Then we fire. Wadja Bara an Emeer of Mahdi on North Side, sent me a letter (in appendix AB) asking me to surrender, and saying it is all lies about the Expedition, the Mahdi is evidently (like Hell f.) offended, with my card- answer this last, and as his Highness will not write direct. Whenever we have Shot or call a nothing or fire some fireworks at the main posts of our lines, Shirk inspirates the Arabs - I puzzle them as to the reasons. They were very angry tonight and came down in a good number a fired on Palaces, several volleys, I ordered up the Steam Launch to put them to flight. The letter Wadji Bara sent me on, by a woman. She came to the North Fort. I telegraphed the Emeer "Open the letter." "tell me contents", he did so. and I answered "Send off the woman back to the Mahdi and" "tell him" [redacted]". I expect this irritated the Emeer, who ordered the advance of his men, and consequent Expedition of his Army.

Dec. 9 A party of 60 men, with Steam Launch and some horsemen left Dem Mahdi & went North this morning the Arabs on Right bank White Nile came over to Left Bank Blue Nile & went through some antics, so we suppose something is up. A man was wounded yesterday at our caravan, which Fort reports all right

Dec. 9 Letter sent by Wadji Bara "appendix AB. The Arabs fired yesterday with rifled shell, but round shell which they cannot have got at Obeyad. Think shows they are out of ammn. of the regulation sort.

What called forth the letter Wadji Bara appx. AB. was a paper I issued (Appendix CD.) to the town, when I received Zoufikar telegram saying he could hold the Soudan. and think I gave it a mean to send to Arabs. If Lord Palmerston was alive (or Forster was Premier,) he could never leave the Soudan, without proclaiming the emancipation of the slaves. On 1st Dec 1862 Lincoln proclaimed abolition of slavery in United states, this would be a good day to issue such a proclamation in Soudan. Wadji Bara's letter calls me. Pasha of Khartoum and says I have been deaf to all their entreaties. Stewart left this place 3 months ago today. A man was wounded by Arab fire at Bourré. who fired 12 rounds from three guns at ~~these~~ the Fort. I feel sure, that the cause of Abdel's coming here is that he got hold of Hunter's journal, written in a hostile critical spirit, and thinking it true, he addressed Jos Schatt. I expect Hansall Austrian Consul also wrote in the style of lamentations. for he also sent down a journal, by "Abbas." It is remarkable that the very effort, that I made to obtain the ear of Europe should have been received on us. I shan for the present abandoned attack on the Arabs at Jebo. as endeavour is more important. as I expect Arabs have taken

Dear G. taken away this year. it has not (up to 2 Pk) fired today. I would like to ask the Mahdi, what allowing pro forma that he is the Mahdi, what will be his ultimate rank certainly his present rank is not exhilarating firing on his fellow creatures. night and day. The siege of Severtopol lasted 328 days. we are at our 271st day. in their case, they had always their communications open & they dealt with an enemy, who would recognize the rights of war. whereas we are not so placed. they, the Russians, were united & had no civil population to deal with. yet I cannot say, I think we are one great heroes (the fact is that, if we analyses human glory it is compound of $\frac{9}{10}$ths Twaddle. perhaps $\frac{99}{100}$ths twaddle) we are only short of the duration of siege Severtopol, 54 days and in how had no respite, like the Russians had, during winter 1854-55. and neither Nicholas or Alexander speculated on (we will! we will not say what, but we will just do) "counting the" "counter". Of course, it will be looked on as very absurd to compare the two blockades that of Severtopol & Khartoum, but if properly weighed one was just as good — the other the Russians had enemy. we had none. they had skilled officers we had none. they had no civil population, we had 40000. they had steam water guns, we had none. we had neither [illegible]

Dec. 10 A slave came in today, he had been with Slatin, he says Slatin is still in chains, that there are two insurrections in Kordofan, & rumour is rife that Expeditionary Force is near. Fort Rudd[amer] is all right. The slave says Arabs have not much ammn. Arab fired 21 guns at Omdurman today, and wounded 4 men (one an officer, falsely) Arabs have been firing stones. ~~[illegible]~~, today. Goba is quiet: they did not fire their gun today or yesterday, I expect it has gone down to River bank. The slave who came in, says the Mahdi's return to Kordofan is cut off, by the insurrection in his rear. so we, & he, are like two rats in a box (I wish he was out of the box!). I have ordered the two steamers to stay up at Bonné, towards Shiuk palace, Arabs seem to be directing an unpleasant degree of attention (Truly I am worn to a shadow, with this foul question. it is our continual demand.) Five men deserted today. The Arabs shape the stones they fire, like to the shells. If the guns, they will soon spoil the rifling of their guns, if they continue this.

Dec. 11. Arabs fired their gun from Goba three times, one shell fell in water before Palace, two passed over it. Fired down some mines at Bonné. I have given the whole garrison an extra months pay, in addition to the three months, they had before received, I still owe Dr. Junker to give them 100,000 £, if I think it will keep the Town.

Dec. 11. Three soldiers came in from the Arab. who report advance of Expedition, towards Berber. Arabs fired 14 rounds from their guns at Bonné, the officers say, that there is an European directing the Arab guns ~~at Bonné~~. (I wonder if it is that Frenchman, who came from Dongola and who, I thought) might have been Remaux.) Semaar is holding out, and in great force. (so say the three soldiers) so is Kassala. The Dem of Mahdi is altered in appearance, they say. he has sent off the families of his adherents into the interior. 3.30 P.M. Arabs fired three shells at ~~Bonné~~ Palace. from Goba. two went in wide one passed over Palace. this always irritates me. for it is so personal, and from our own soldiers too! It is not very pleasant also, to feel, at any moment you may have a shell in your room, for the creatures fire, at all hours. The steamers fired on Arabs at Bonné this morning, and one of Arab shells struck one steamer, and another struck a Sandal. Arab in boat then to defend the flank. but neither did any harm. Two soldiers deserted to Arabs today, three men are generally three, so here, before been, with Arabs & had deserted to us. The Arabs fired another shell at Palace, this evening. Shell burst in air.

Dec. 12. Small Church Parade, I sincerely hope this will be the last, as shall have to criticise. We have in hand 1.796.000 Rds Remington about 540 Rds Krupp. 6000 Rds Mountain gun about. 140 t in spirit, 18000 t in paper, in Khartoum !! 60000 t in town in paper. 110000 ohes Biscuit 700 ardeb of Dhurra. This morning.

Dec 12. I was told a long story of a report concerning the Expeditionary Force being at Dameer, near Atbara River, of how Berber had surrendered &c &c. on hearing it, I found it was a fib just in circulation, by one of the chief Ulemas. to encourage the people
3.30 Pm. Arabs fired 2 shells at Palace. one burst in air, the other fell in water in direct line with window I was sitting at, distant about 100 yds.
3.40 Pm they fired another shell. which fell only 50 yds short of Palace. another burst in air, I have sent the buglers up, to stop this target-practice all these shells are in good line, for the West wing we think they know I stop. They fired 7 shells in all, in this affair. Though the Arabs have fired over two thousand shells at us, I do not think we have lost by actual fire, more than three men.

Dec 13. Steamers sent up a attacked Arabs at Bourré (Certainly this day after day delay has a most disheartening effect, on every one. today is the 276th day of our anxiety) Arabs appear, by all accounts, to have suffered today. heavily at Bourré. We had no wounded by Arabs, but one man, by the discharge of a bad cartridge, got a cut in neck; three ran away to the same cause, as nearly blew out my eyes, the other day. We are going to send down the "Bordeen" the day after tomorrow. a with her, I shall send this journal. If some effort is not made before 10 days time, the town will fall, it is inexplicable this delay. if Expedy Forces have reached the River & sent up steamers. 100 men are all that is required, just to show themselves.

Decr. 13. I send this journal, for I have little hopes of saving it, if the town falls. I put in appendix E.E. the sort of arrangement I would make with Zebehr Pasha. for future Govt of the Soudan. Feratch Pasha is really shewing an amount of vigour, I did not give him credit for. Even if town falls. [illegible] under the nose of the Expeditionary Force, it will not, in my opinion, justify the abandonment of Sennaar, & Kassala. or of Equatorial Province, by HM. Govt. All that is absolutely necessary is, for 50 of the Expy Force to get on board a steamer, and come up to Halfyeh. & thus let their presence be felt, this is not asking much. but it must happen at once. [illegible] or it will (as usual) too late. A soldier deserted to Arabs today. from North Fort. The Buglers on roof, being short of stature, are put on boxes. to enable them to fire over parapet. one with the recoil of rifle was knocked right over, & caused considerable excitement

Dec. 13 we thought he was killed by the noise he made, on his fall. Arabs fire them Krupt continually into town. From Fort front, but we on takes any notice of it; the Arabs at Fort, only fired one shell at Palace today, which burst in air

Dec. 14. Arabs fired 2 shells at Palace this morning. 546 ardebs Dhoura in store, also 83525 okes of Biscuit! 10.30 Alle. the steamers are down at Omdurman, engaging the Arabs. consequently I am on tenter hooks! 11.30 Alle. Steamers returned, the "Bordein" was struck by a shell, in his battery, & had only one man wounded. ~~[illegible]~~ We are going to send down "Bordein" tomorrow. with this journal. If I was in command of the 200 men of Expeditionary Force, which are all that are necessary for moment, I should stop just below Halfyeh & attack Arabs at that place before I came on here to Khartoum. I should then communicate with North Fort, and act according to circumstances. Now mark this, if Expeditionary Force, and I ask for no more than 200 men does not arrive in 10 Days, the town may fall, and I have done my best for the honor of our country. Good bye

C. Gordon

You send me no information though you have lots of money!

C.G.

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